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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF INFANT SALVATION.

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THE task which we set before us in this brief paper is not to unravel the history of opinion as to the salvation of infants dying in infancy, but the much more circumscribed one of tracing the development of doctrine on this subject. We hope to show that there has been a doctrine as to the salvation of infants common to all ages of the Church; but that there has also been in this, as in other doctrines, a progressive correction of crudities in its conception, by which the true meaning and relations of the common teaching have been freed from deforming accretions and its permanent core brought to purer expression.

I. It is fundamental to the very conception of Christianity that it is a remedial scheme. Christ Jesus came to save sinners. The first Christians had no difficulty in understanding and confessing that Christ had come into a world lost in sin to establish a kingdom of righteousness, citizenship in which is the condition of salvation. That infants were admitted into this citizenship they did not question; Irenæus, for example, finds it appropriate that Christ was born an infant and grew by natural stages into manhood, since "he came to save all by himself—all, I say, who by him are born again unto God, infants and children, and boys and young men, and old men," and accordingly passed through every age that he might sanctify all. Nor did they question that not the natural birth of the flesh, but the new birth of the Spirit was the sole gateway for infants too, into the kingdom; communion with God was lost for all alike, and to infants too it was restored only in Christ.\* Less pure elements, however, entered almost inevitably into their thought. The ingrained externalism of both Jewish and heathen modes of conception, when brought into the Church wrought naturally

toward the identification of the kingdom of Christ with the external Church, and of regeneration with baptism. Already in Justin and Irenæus, the word "regeneration" means "baptism;" the Fathers uniformly understand John iii. 5 of baptism. The maxim of the Patristic age thus became *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*; baptism was held to be necessary to salvation with the necessity of means; and as a corollary, no unbaptized infant could be saved. How early this doctrine of the necessity of baptism became settled in the Church is difficult to trace in the paucity of very early witnesses. Tertullian already defends it from objection.\* The reply of Cyprian and his fellow-bishops to Fidus on the duty of early baptism, presupposes it.† After that, it was plainly the Church-doctrine; and although it was mitigated in the case of adults by the admission not only of the baptism of blood, but also that of intention,‡ the latter mitigation was not allowed in the case of infants. The whole Patristic Church agreed that, martyrs excepted, no infant dying unbaptized could enter the kingdom of heaven.

The fairest exponent of the thought of the age on this subject is Augustine, who was called upon to defend it against the Pelagian error that infants dying unbaptized, while failing of entrance into the kingdom, yet obtain eternal life. His constancy in this controversy has won for him the unenviable title of *durus infantum pater*—a designation doubly unjust, in that not only did he neither originate the obnoxious dogma nor teach it in its harshest form, but he was even preparing its destruction by the doctrines of grace, of which he was more truly the father.§ Augustine expressed the

\* De Bapt., c. 12.

† Epistle lviii. (lxiv.).

‡ With what limitations may be conveniently read in WALL, *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, ed. 2, 1707, pp. 359 sq.

§ Compare *The Post-Nicene Fathers*, edited by Dr. SCHAFF, vol. v. (*Augustine's Anti-Pelagian Treatises*), p. lxx.

\* IRENÆUS, *Haer.*, ii., 22, 4, and iii., 18, 7.

Church-doctrine moderately, teaching, of course, that infants dying unbaptized would be found on Christ's left hand and be condemned to eternal punishment, but also not forgetting to add that their punishment would be the mildest of all, and indeed that they were to be beaten with so few stripes that he could not say it would have been better for them not to be born.\* No doubt, others of the Fathers softened the doctrine even below this: some of the Greeks, for instance, like Gregory Nazianzen, thought that unbaptized infants "are neither glorified nor punished"—i.e., of course, go into a middle state similar to that taught by Pelagius.† But it is not to Augustine, but to Fulgentius († 533),‡ or to Alcimus Avitus († 525),§ or to Gregory the Great († 604) || to whom we must go for the strongest expression of the woe of unbaptized infants. Probably only such anonymous objectors as those whom Tertullian confutes,¶ or such obscure and erratic individuals as Vincentius Victor whom Augustine convicts, in the whole Patristic age, doubted that the kingdom of heaven was closed to all infants departing this life without the sacrament of baptism.

2. If the general consent of a whole age as expressed by its chief writers, including the leading bishops of Rome, and its synodical decrees, is able to determine a doctrine, certainly the Patristic Church transmitted to the Middle Ages as *de fide* that infants dying unbaptized (with the exception only of those who suffer martyrdom) are not only excluded from heaven, but doomed to hell. Accordingly the mediæval synods so define; the second Council of Lyons and the Council of Florence declare that "the souls of those who pass away in mortal sin or in original sin alone descend immediately to hell, to be punished, however, with unequal penalties." On the maxim that *gradus non mutant speciem* we must adjudge Petavius's argument\*\* unanswerable, that this deliverance determines the punishment of unbaptized infants to be the same in kind (in the same hell) with that of adults in mortal sin: "So infants are tormented with unequal tortures of fire, but are tormented nevertheless." Nevertheless scholastic thought on the subject was characterized by a successful effort to mollify the harshness of the

Church doctrine, under the impulse of the prevalent semi-Pelagian conception of original sin. The whole troupe of schoolmen unite in distinguishing between *pœna damni* and *pœna sensus*, and in assigning to infants dying unbaptized only the former—i.e., the loss of heaven and the beatific vision, and not the latter—i.e., positive torment. They differ among themselves only as to whether this *pœna damni*, which alone is the lot of infants, is accompanied by a painful sense of the loss (as Lombard held), or is so negative as to involve no pain at all, either external or internal (as Aquinas argued). So complete a victory was won by this mollification that perhaps only a single theologian of eminence can be pointed to who ventured still to teach the doctrine of Augustine and Gregory—Gregory Ariminensis thence called *tortor infantum*; and Hurter reminds us that even he did not dare to teach it definitively, but submitted it to the judgment of his readers.\* Dante, whom Andrew Seth not unjustly calls "by far the greatest disciple of Aquinas," has enshrined in his immortal poem the leading conception of his day, when he pictures the "young children innocent, whom Death's sharp teeth have snatched ere yet they were freed from the sin with which our birth is blent," as imprisoned within the brink of hell, "where the first circle girds the abyss of dread," in a place where "there is no sharp agony" but "dark shadows only," and whence "no other plaint rises than that of sighs which from the sorrow without pain arise."† The novel doctrine attained papal authority by a decree of Innocent III. (c. 1200), who determined "the penalty of original sin to be the lack of the vision of God, but the penalty of actual sin to be the torments of eternal hell."

A more timid effort was also made in this period to modify the inherited doctrine by the application to it of a development of the baptism of intention. This tendency first appears in Hincmar of Rheims († 882), who, in a particularly hard case of interdict on a whole diocese, expresses the hope that "the faith and godly desire of the parents and godfathers" of the infants who had thus died unbaptized, "who in sincerity desired baptism for them but obtained it not, may profit them by the gift of Him whose spirit (which gives regeneration) breathes where it pleaseth." It is doubtful, however, whether he would have extended this lofty

\* Augustine's doctrine is most strongly expressed in *Sermo xlv.* In *De Peccat. Merit.* c. 21 (xvi.), and *Contra Julian.*, v., 11, he speaks of the comparative mildness of the punishment.

† Cf. WALL, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

‡ *De Fide ad Petr.*, c. 27.

§ *Ad Fascinam Sororem.*

|| *Expos. in Job.*, l. 16.

¶ *De Bapt.*, c. 12.

\*\* PETAVIUS, *Dog. Theol.*, ed. Paris, 1865, ii., 59 sq.

\* HURTER, *Theolog. Dogmat. Compend.*, 1878, iii., p. 516. Tract. x., cap. iii., § 729. Wycliffe must be added.

† *Hell.* lv., 23 sq.; *Purgatory*, vii., 25 sq.; *Heaven*, xxxii., 76 sq. (Plumptre's translation).

doctrine to any less stringent case.\* Certainly no similar teaching is met with in the Church, except with reference to the peculiarly hard case of still-born infants of Christian parents. The schoolmen (*e.g.*, Alexander Hales and Thomas Aquinas) admitted a doubt whether God may not have ways of saving such unknown to us. John Gerson, in a sermon before the Council of Constance, presses the inference more boldly.† God, he declared, has not so tied the mercy of his salvation to common laws and sacraments, but that without prejudice to his law he can sanctify children not yet born, by the baptism of his grace or the power of the Holy Ghost. Hence, he exhorts expectant parents to pray that if the infant is to die before attaining baptism, the Lord may sanctify it: and who knows but that the Lord may hear them? He adds, however, that he only intends to suggest that all hope is not taken away, for there is no certainty without a revelation. Gabriel Biel († 1495) followed in Gerson's footsteps,‡ holding it to be accordant with God's mercy to seek out some remedy for such infants. This teaching remained, however, without effect on the Church-dogma, although something similar to it was, among men who served God in the way then called heresy, foreshadowing an even better to come. John Wycliffe († 1384) had already with like caution expressed his unwillingness to pronounce such infants as were intended for baptism by their parents damned, if they failed to receive it in fact: though he could not, on the other hand, assert that they were saved.§ His followers were less cautious, whether in England or Bohemia, and in this, too, approved themselves heralds of a brighter day.

3. In the upheaval of the sixteenth century the Church of Rome found her task in harmonizing under the influence of the scholastic teaching, the inheritance which the somewhat inconsistent past had bequeathed her. Four varieties of opinion sought a place in her teaching. At the one extreme the earlier doctrine of Augustine and Gregory, that infants dying unbaptized suffer eternally the pains of sense, found again advocates, and that especially among the greatest of her scholars, such as Noris, Petani, Driedo, Conry, Berti. At the other extreme, a Pelagianizing doctrine that excluded unbaptized infants from the kingdom of heaven and the life promised to the blessed, and yet

accorded to them eternal life and natural happiness in a place between heaven and hell, was advocated by such great leaders as Ambrosius Catharinus, Albertus Pighius, Molina, Sfondrati. The mass, however, followed the schoolmen in the middle path of *pœna damni*, and, like the schoolmen, only differed as to whether the punishment of loss involved sorrow (as Bellarmine held) or was purely negative.\* The Council of Trent (1545) anathematized those who affirm that the "sacraments of the new law are not necessary to salvation, and that without them or an intention of them men obtain . . . the grace of justification;" or, again, that "baptism is free—that is, is not necessary to salvation." This is explained by the Tridentine Catechism to mean that "unless men be regenerated to God through the grace of baptism, they are born to everlasting misery and destruction, whether their parents be believers or unbelievers:" while, on the other hand, we are credibly informed † that the council was near anathematizing as a Lutheran heresy the proposition that the penalty for original sin is the fire of hell. The Council of Trent at least made renewedly *de fide* that infants dying unbaptized incurred damnation, though it left the way open for discussion as to the kind and amount of their punishment.‡

The Tridentine deliverance, of course, does not exclude the baptism of blood as a substitute for baptism of water. Neither does it seem necessarily to exclude the application of a theory of baptism of intention to infants. Even after it, therefore, a twofold development seems to have been possible. The path already opened by Gerson and Biel might have been followed out, and a baptism of intention developed for infants as well as for adults. This might even have been pushed on logically, so as to cover the case of all infants dying in infancy. On the principle argued by Richard Hooker,§ for example, that the unavoidable failure of baptism in the case of Christian children cannot lose them salvation, because of the presumed desire and purpose of baptism for them in their Christian parents and in the Church of God, reasoners might have proceeded only a single step further and have said that the desire and purpose of Mother Church to baptize all is intention of baptism

\* For this classification see BELLARMINE, *De Anims. Gratia*, etc., vi., 1; and compare GERHARD, *Loci* (Cotta's ed.), vol. ix., p. 279; CHAMIER, *Pœnatrat. Cath.* (1626), iii., 139, or SPANHEIM, *Chamierus Contractus* (1643), p. 797.

† So Father PAUL, *Hist. of the Council of Trent*, c. 2.

‡ PERRONE, *Prælect. Theol. in Compend. Redact.*, i., p. 404.

§ Ecclesiastical Polity, v., ix., 6.

\* Cf. WALL, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

† *Sermon, De Nat. Mar. Virg.*, consid. 2, col. 33.

‡ In iv., Sect. iv., q. 11.

§ Cf. WALL, *as above*.

enough for all dying in helpless infancy. Thus on Roman principles a salvation for all dying in infancy might be logically deduced, and infants, as more helpless and less guilty, be given the preference over adults. On the other hand, it might be argued that as baptism either *in re* or *in voto* must mediate salvation, and as infants by reason of their age are incapable of the intention, they cannot be saved unless they receive it in fact,\* and thus infants be discriminated against in favor of adults. This second path is the one which has been actually followed by the theologians of the Church of Rome, with the ultimate result that not only are infants discriminated against in favor of adults, but the more recent theologians seem almost ready to discriminate against the infants of Christians as over against those of the heathen.†

The application of the baptism of intention to infants was not abandoned, however, without some protest from the more tender-hearted. Cardinal Cajetan defended in the Council of Trent itself Gerson's proposition that the desire of godly parents might be taken in lieu of the actual baptism of children dying in the womb.‡ Cassander (1570) encouraged parents to hope and pray for children so dying.§ Bianchi (1768) holds that such children may be saved *per oblationem pueri quam Deo mater extrinsecus faciat*.|| Eusebius Amort (1758) teaches that God may be moved by prayer to grant justification to such extra-sacramentally.¶ Even somewhat bizarre efforts have been made to escape the sad conclusion proclaimed by the Church. Thus Klee holds that a lucid interval is accorded to infants in the article of death, so that they may conceive

the wish for baptism.\* An obscure French writer supposes that they may, "shut up in their mother's womb, know God, love him, and have the baptism of desire."† A more obscure German conceives that infants remain eternally in the same state of rational development in which they die, and hence enjoy all they are capable of; if they die in the womb they either fall back into the original force from which they were produced, or enjoy a happiness no greater than that of trees.‡ These protests of the heart have awakened, however, no response in the Church.§ which has preferred to hold fast to the dogma that the failure of baptism in infants, dying such, excludes *ipso facto* from heaven, and to seek its comfort in mitigating still farther than the scholastics themselves the nature of that *pœna damni* which alone it allows as punishment of original sin.

And if we may assume that such writers as Perrone, Hurter, Gousset, and Kendrick are typical of modern Roman theology throughout the world, certainly that theology may be said to have come, in this pathway of mitigation, as near to positing salvation for all infants dying unbaptized as the rather intractable deliverances of early popes and later councils permit to them. They all teach, of course (as the definitions of Florence and Trent require of them)—in the words of Perrone—"that children of this kind descend into hell, or incur damnation;" but (as Hurter says¶), "although all Catholics agree that infants dying without baptism are excluded from the beatific vision and so suffer loss, are lost (*pati damnum, damnari*); they yet differ among themselves in their determination of the nature and condition of the state into which such infants pass." As the idea of "damnation" may thus be softened to a mere *failure to attain*, so the idea of "hell" may be elevated to that of a natural *paradise*. Hurter himself is inclined to a somewhat severer doctrine; but Perrone (supported by such great lights as Balmes, Berlage, Oswald, Lessius, and followed not afar off by Gousset and Kendrick) reverts to the Pelagianizing view of Catharinus and Molina and Sfondrati, which Petau called a "fabrication" championed indeed by Catharinus but originated "by Pelagius the heretic," and which Belarmine contended was *contra fidem*—and

\* Thus, e.g., DOMINICUS DE SOTO expresses it (*De Natura et Gratia*, ii. 10): "It is most firmly established in the Church that no infant apart from baptism *in re*—since he cannot have it *in voto*—enters the kingdom of heaven."

† This grows out of the development of the doctrines of ignorance and "invincible ignorance," the latter of which was authoritatively defined by Pope Pius IX. in his Encyclical addressed to the Bishops of Italy, August 16, 1853. See an interesting statement concerning it in NEWMAN'S *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, on the Infallibility of the Pope. Thus while an absolute necessity for baptism *in re* is posited for the infants of even Christian parents, even though they die in the womb, on the other hand, as the law of baptism is in force only where it is known, and even an ignorance morally invincible (as among sectaries) is counted true ignorance, not even an intention of baptism is demanded of the heathen or of certain sectaries. GOUSSET, *Théolog. Dogmat.*, 10 ed., Paris, 1866, i., 548, 549, 351, ii., 382, may be profitably consulted in this connection. Among the heathen thus the old remedies for sin are still probably valid; St. Bernard says (quoted approvingly by Gousset), "Among the Gentiles as many as are found faithful, we believe that the adults are expiated by faith and the sacrifices, but the faith of the parents profits the children, nay, even suffices for them." If the fathers are saved, why not the children? Might not a Christian's infant dying in the womb be said to be "invincibly ignorant"? Why need the "law of baptism" be so inflexibly extended to it?

‡ In 3 Part. Thomæ. Q. 68, art. 2, et 11.

§ *De bapt. infant.*

|| *De Remedio . . . pro parentis.*

¶ *Theolog. Moral.*, ii., xi., 3.

\* *Dog.* iii., 2, § 1.

† DE LA MARNE, *Traité métaphysique des Dogmes de la Trinité*, etc., Paris, 1826.

‡ HERMESSIUS, *Zeitschr. f. Phil. u. kath. Theol.*, Bonn., 1832.

§ Compare VASQUEZ, in 3 P. s. Th., disp. cli., cap. 1; HURTER, *op. cit.*, 1878, iii., 516 sq.; PERRONE, *Prælect. Theolog.* (1839), vi. 55.

¶ *Compend.* 1861, i., 494, No. 285.

¶ *Op. cit.*, No. 729.



teaches that unbaptized infants enter into a state deprived of all supernatural benefits, indeed, but endowed with all the happiness of which pure nature is capable. Their state is described as having the nature of penalty and of damnation when conceived of relatively to the supernatural happiness from which they are excluded by original sin; but when conceived of in itself and absolutely, it is a state of pure nature, and accordingly the words of Thomas Aquinas are applied to it: "They are joined to God by participation in natural goods, and so also can rejoice in natural knowledge and love." \* Thus, after so many ages, the Pelagian conception of the middle state for infants has obtained its revenge on the condemnation of the Church. No doubt it is not admitted that this is a return to Pelagianism; Perrone, for example, argues that Pelagius held the doctrine of a natural beatitude for infants as one unrelated to sin, while "Catholic theologians hold it with the death of sin; so that the exclusion from the beatific vision has the nature of penalty and of damnation proceeding from sin." † Is there more than a verbal difference here? At all events, whatever difference exists is a difference not in the doctrine of the state of unbaptized infants after death, but in the doctrine of the fall. In deference to the language of fathers and councils and popes, this natural paradise is formally assigned to that portion of the other world designated "hell," but in its own nature it is precisely the Pelagian doctrine of the state of unbaptized infants after death. By what expedient such teaching is to be reconciled with the other doctrines of the Church of Rome, or with its former teaching on this same subject, or with its boast of *semper eadem*, is more interesting to its advocates within that communion than to us. ‡ Our interest as historians of opinion is exhausted in simply noting the fact that the Pelagianizing process, begun in the Middle Ages by assigning to infants guilty only of original sin liability to *pœna damni* alone, culminates in our day in their assignment by the most representative theologians of modern Rome to a natural paradise.

4. It is, no doubt, as a protest against the harshness of the Romanist syllogism, "No man can attain salvation who is not a member of Christ; but no one becomes a member of Christ except by baptism, received either *in re* or *in voto*," § that this Pelagian-

izing drift is to be regarded. Its fault is that it impinges by way of mitigation and modification on the *major* premise, which, however, is the fundamental proposition of Christianity. Its roots are planted, in the last analysis, in a conception of men, not as fallen creatures, children of wrath, and deserving of a doom which can only be escaped by becoming members of Christ, but as creatures of God with claims on him for natural happiness, but, of course, with no claims on him for such additional supernatural benefits as he may yet lovingly confer on his creatures in Christ. On the other hand, that great religious movement which we call the Reformation, the constitutive principle of which was its revised doctrine of the Church, ranged itself properly against the fallacious *minor* premise, and easily broke its bonds with the sword of the word. Men are not constituted members of Christ through the Church, but members of the Church through Christ; they are not made the members of Christ by baptism which the Church gives, but by faith, the gift of God; and baptism is the Church's recognition of this inner fact. The full benefit of this better apprehension of the nature of that Church of God, membership in which is the condition of salvation, was not reaped, however, by all Protestants in equal measure. It was the strength of the Lutheran movement that it worked out its positions not theoretically or all at once, but step by step, as it was forced on by the logic of events and experience. But it was an incidental evil that, being compelled to express its faith early, its first confession was framed before the full development of Protestant thought, and subsequently contracted the faith of Lutheranism into too narrow channels. The Augsburg Confession contains the true doctrine of the Church as the *congregatio sanctorum*; but it committed Lutheranism to the doctrine that baptism is necessary to salvation (Art. IX.) in such a sense that children are not saved without baptism (Art. IX.), \* inasmuch as the condemnation and eternal death brought by original sin upon all are not removed except from those who are born again by baptism and the Holy Ghost (Art. II.)—i.e., to the doctrine that the necessity of baptism is the necessity of means. In the direction of mollifying interpretation of this deliverance, the theologians urge: 1. That the necessity affirmed is not absolute but ordinary, and binds man and not God. 2. That as the assertion is directed against the Anabaptists,

\* *Compend*, 1861, i., 494, cf. ii., 252. † *Ibid.*, i.c., No. 500.

‡ See some of the difficulties very mildly stated in HURTER, *loc. cit.*

§ The words are AQUINAS's (p. 3, q. 68, art. 1): see them quoted and applied by PERRONE, *Compend.*, ii., 253.

\* "Or outside the Church of Christ," as is added in ed. 1540.

it is not the privation, but the contempt of baptism that is affirmed to be damning. 3. That the necessity of baptism is not intended to be equalized with that of the Holy Ghost. 4. That the affirmation is not that for original sin alone any one is actually damned, but only that all are therefor damnable. There is force in these considerations. But they do not avail wholly to relieve the Augsburg Confession of limiting salvation to those who enjoy the means of grace, and as concerns infants, to those who receive the sacrament of baptism.

It is not to be held, of course, that it asserts such an absolute necessity of baptism for infants dying such, as admits no exceptions. From Luther and Melancthon down, Lutheran theologians have always taught what Hunnius expressed in the Saxon Visitation Articles: "Unless a person be born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. *Cases of necessity are not intended, however, by this.*" Lutheran theology, in other words, takes its stand positively on the ground of baptism of intention as applied to infants, as over against its denial by the Church of Rome. "Luther," says Dorner,\* "holds fast, in general, to the necessity of baptism in order to salvation, but in reference to the children of Christians who have died unbaptized, he says: 'The Holy and Merciful God will think kindly of them. What he will do with them he has revealed to no one, that baptism may not be despised, but has reserved to his own mercy; God does wrong to no man.'"<sup>†</sup> From the fact that Jewish children dying before circumcision were not lost, Luther argues that neither are Christian children dying before baptism;<sup>‡</sup> and he comforts Christian mothers of still-born babes by declaring that they should understand that such infants are saved.§ So Bugenhagen, under Luther's direction, teaches that Christians' children intended for baptism are not left to the hidden judgment of God if they fail of baptism, but have the promise of being received by Christ into his kingdom.|| It is not necessary to quote later authors on a point on which all are unanimous; let it suffice to add only the clear statement of the developed Lutheranism of John Gerhard (1610-22):¶ "We walk in the middle way, teaching that baptism is, indeed, the ordinary sacrament of initiation

and means of regeneration necessary to all, even to the children of believers, for regeneration and salvation; but yet that in the event of privation or impossibility the children of Christians are saved by an extraordinary and peculiar divine dispensation. For the necessity of baptism is not absolute, but ordinary; we on our part are obliged to the necessity of baptism, but there must be no denial of the extraordinary action of God in infants offered to Christ by pious parents and the Church in prayers, and dying before the opportunity of baptism can be given them, since God does not so bind his grace and saving efficacy to baptism as that, in the event of privation, he may not both wish and be able to act extraordinarily. We distinguish, then, between necessity on God's part and on our part; between the case of *privation* and the *ordinary* way; and also between infants born in the Church and out of the Church. Concerning infants born out of the Church, we say with the apostle (1 Cor. v. 12, 13), 'For what have I to do with judging them that are without? Do not you judge them that are within? For them that are without God judgeth.' Wherefore, since there is no promise concerning them, we commit them to God's judgment; and yet we hold to no place intermediate between heaven and hell, concerning which there is utter silence in Scripture. But concerning infants born in the Church we have better hope. Pious parents properly bring their children as soon as possible to baptism as the ordinary means of regeneration, and offer them in baptism to Christ; and those who are negligent in this, so as through lack of care or wicked contempt for the sacrament to deprive their children of baptism, shall hereafter render a very heavy account to God, since they have 'despised the counsel of God' (Luke vii. 30). Yet neither can nor ought we rashly to condemn those infants which die in their mothers' wombs or by some sudden accident before they receive baptism, but may rather hold that the prayers of pious parents, or, if the parents are negligent of this, the prayers of the Church, poured out for these infants, are elementally heard and they are received by God into grace and life."

From this passage, too, we may learn the historical attitude of Lutheranism toward the entirely different question of the fate of infants dying outside the pale of the Church and the reach of its ordinances, a multitude so vast that it is wholly unreasonable to suppose them simply (like Christians' children deprived of baptism) exceptions to the rule laid down in the Augsburg Confes-

\* *Hist. of Protestant Theology* (E.T.), i., 171.

† *Opp.*, xxii., 872 (Dorner's quotation).

‡ *Com. in Gen.*, c. 17.

§ *Christliche Bedenken*.

|| See for several such quotations brought together, LAURENCE, *Bampton Lectures*, 1804, ed. 1820, p. 272. Also GERHARD as in next note.

¶ Ed. Cotta, vol. ix., p. 284.

sion. It is perfectly clear that the Lutheran Confessions extend no hope for them. It is doubtful whether it can even be said that they leave room for hope for them. Melancthon in the *Apology* is no doubt arguing against the Anabaptists, and intends to prove only that children should be baptized; but his words in explanation of Art. IX. deserve consideration in this connection also—where he argues that “the promise of salvation” “does not pertain to those who are without the Church of Christ, where there is neither the Word nor the Sacraments, because the kingdom of Christ exists only with the Word and the Sacraments.” Luther’s personal opinion as to the fate of heathen children dying in infancy is in doubt; now he expresses the hope that the good and gracious God may have something good in view for them;\* and again, though leaving it to the future to decide, he only expects something milder for them than for the adults outside the Church;† and Bugenhagen, under his eye, contrasts the children of Turks and Jews with those of Christians, as not sharers in salvation because not in Christ.‡ From the very first the opinion of the theologians was divided on the subject. (1) Some held that all infants except those baptized in fact or intention are lost, and ascribed to them, of course—for this was the Protestant view of the desert of original sin—both privative and positive punishment. This party included such theologians as Quistorpius, Calovius, Fechter, Zeibichius, Buddeus. (2) Others judged that we may cherish the best of hope for their salvation. Here belong Dannhauer, Hulsemann, Scherzer, J. A. Oslander, Wagner, Musæus, Cotta, and Spener. But the great body of Lutherans, including such names as Gerhard, Calixtus, Meisner, Baldwin, Bechmann, Hoffmann, Hunnius, held that nothing is clearly revealed as to the fate of such infants, and they must be left to the judgment of God. (3) Some of these, like Hunnius, were inclined to believe that they will be saved. (4) Others, with more (like Hoffmann) or less (like Gerhard) clearness, were rather inclined to believe they will be lost; but all alike held that the means for a certain decision are not in our hands.§ Thus Hunnius says: || “That the infants of Gentiles, outside the Church, are saved, we cannot pronounce as certain, since there exists nothing definite in the Scrip-

tures concerning the matter; so neither do I dare simply to assert that these children are indiscriminately damned. . . . Let us commit them, therefore, to the judgment of God.” And Hoffmann says: \* “On the question, whether the infants of the heathen nations are lost, most of our theologians prefer to suspend their judgment. To affirm as a certain thing that they are lost could not be done without rashness.”

This cautious agnostic attitude has the best right to be called the historical Lutheran attitude. It is even the highest position thoroughly consistent with the genius of the Lutheran system and the stress which it lays on the means of grace. The drift in more modern times has, however, been decidedly in the direction of affirming the salvation of all that die in infancy, on grounds identical with those pleaded by this party from the beginning—the infinite mercy of God, the universality of the atonement, the inability of infants to resist grace, their guiltlessness of despising the ordinance, and the like.† Even so, however, careful modern Lutherans moderate their assertions. They may affirm that “it is not the doctrine of our Confession that any human creature has ever been or ever will be lost purely for original sin;”‡ but they speak of the matter as a “dark” or a “difficult question,”§ and suspend the salvation of such infants on an “extraordinary” and “uncovenanted” exercise of God’s mercy.|| We cannot rise to a conviction or a “faith” in the matter, but may attain to a “well-grounded hope,” based on our apprehension of God’s all-embracing mercy.¶ In short, the Lutheran doctrine seems to lay no firm foundation for a conviction of the salvation of all infants dying in infancy; at the best it is held to leave open an uncontradicted hope. We are afraid we must say more; it seems to contradict this hope. For should this hope prove true, it would no longer be true that “baptism is necessary to salvation,” even *ordinarily*; the exception would be the rule. Nor would the fundamental conception of the Lutheran theory of salvation—that grace is in the means of grace—be longer tenable. The logic of the Lutheran system leaves little room for the salvation of all infants dying in infancy, and if their salvation should prove to be a fact, the integrity of the system is endangered.

5. A similar difficulty is experienced by

\* Cf. DORNER, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, i, 171.

† Cf. LAURENCE, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 272.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ This classification is taken from COTTA (Gerhard’s *Loc.*, ix., 285).

|| *Quæst. in cap. vii. Gen.*

\* See KRAUTH, *Conservative Reformation*, p. 433.

† Compare the statements in COTTA and KRAUTH, *loc. cit.*

‡ KRAUTH, *l.c.*, p. 429.

§ *Ib.*, pp. 561-63.

|| *Ib.*, pp. 430, 437.

¶ KRAUTH, *Infant Salvation in the Calvinistic System*, p. 22.

all types of Protestant thought in which the older idea of the Church, as primarily an external body, has been incompletely reformed. This may be illustrated, for example, from the history of thought in the Church of England. The Thirty-nine Articles, in their final form, are thoroughly Protestant and Reformed. And many of the greatest English theologians, even among those not most closely affiliated with Geneva, from the very earliest days of the Reformation, have repudiated the "cruel judgment" of the Church of Rome as to the fate of infants dying unbaptized. But this repudiation was neither immediate, nor has it ever been universal. The second of the Ten Articles of Henry VIII. (1536) not only declares that the promise of grace and eternal life is adjoined to baptism, but adds that infants "by the sacrament of baptism do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favor of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God; insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not." The first liturgy embodied the same implication. The growing Protestant sentiment soon revised it out of these standards.\* But there have never lacked those in the Church of England who still taught the necessity of baptism to salvation. If it can boast of a John Hooper, who speaks of "the ungodly opinion that attributeth the salvation of men unto the receiving of an external sacrament," "as though the Holy Spirit could not be carried by faith into the penitent and sorrowful conscience except it rid always in a chariot and external sacrament," and who (probably first after Zwingli) taught that all infants dying in infancy, whether children of Christians or infidels, are saved;† it also has counted among its teachers many who held with Matthew Scrivener that Christ's "death and passion are not communicated unto any but by outward signs and sacraments," so that "either all children must be damned, being unbaptized, or they must have baptism."‡ The general position of the Church up to his day is thus conceived by Wall:§ "The Church of England have declared their sense of its [i.e., baptism's] necessity by reciting the saying of our Saviour, John iii. 5, both in the Office of Baptism of Infants and also in that for those of riper years. . . . Concerning the everlasting state of an infant that

by misfortune dies unbaptized, the Church of England has determined nothing (it were fit that all churches would leave such things to God) save that they forbid the ordinary *Office for Burial* to be used for such an one; for that were to determine the point and acknowledge him for a Christian brother. And tho' the most noted men in the said Church from time to time since the Reformation of it to this time have expressed their hopes that God will accept the purpose of the parent for the deed; yet they have done it modestly and much as Wycliffe did, rather not determining the negative than absolutely determining the positive, that such a child shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." If this is all that can be said of the children of the faithful, lacking baptism, where will those of the infidel appear? Many other opinions—more Protestant or more Pelagian—have, of course, found a home for themselves in the bosom of this most inclusive communion, but they are no more characteristic of its teaching than that of Wall. It is only needful to remember that there are still many among the clergy of the Church of England who, retaining the old, unreformed view of the Church, still believe "that the relationship of sonship to God is imparted through baptism and is not imparted without it;"\* though, of course, many others, and we hope still a large majority, would repudiate this position as incredible.

6. It was among the Reformed alone that the newly recovered scriptural apprehension of the Church to which the promises were given, as essentially not an externally organized body but the people of God, membership in which is mediated not by the external act of baptism but by the internal regeneration of the Holy Spirit, bore its full fruit in rectifying the doctrine of the application of redemption. This great truth was taught alike by both branches of Protestantism, but it was limited in its application in the one line of teaching by a very high doctrine of the means of grace, while in the other it became itself constitutive of the doctrine of the means of grace. Not a few Reformed theologians, even outside the Church of England, no doubt also held a high doctrine of the means; of whom Peter Jurieu may be taken as a type.† But this was not characteristic of the Reformed churches, the distinguishing doctrine of which rather by suspending salvation on membership in the invisible instead of in

\* For an outline of the history see SCHAFF, *Credentials of Christendom*, I., 682; cf. LAURENCE, *op. cit.*, p. 176 sq.

† *An Answer to My Lord of Winchester's Book*, etc., 1547, in Parker Society's *Early Writings of Bishop Hooper*, pp. 129, 131.

‡ *Course of Divinity*, London, 1674, p. 196.

§ *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, ed. 2, 1707, p. 377.

\* *Oxford Tracts*, vol. II., No. 66.

† See his views quoted and discussed by WITSIUS, *De Eff. cace et Utilitate Bapt. in Miscel. Sacra* (1686), II., 513.



the visible Church, transformed baptism from a necessity into a duty, and left men dependent for salvation on nothing but the infinite love and free grace of God. In this view the absolutely free and loving election of God alone is determinative of the saved; so that how many and who they are is known absolutely to God alone, and to us only so far forth as it may be inferred from the marks and signs of election revealed to us in the Word. Faith and its fruits are the chief signs in the case of adults, and he that believes may know that he is of the elect. In the case of infants dying in infancy, birth within the bounds of the covenant is a sure sign, since the promise is "unto us and our children." But present unbelief is not a sure sign of reprobation in the case of adults, for who knows but that unbelief may yet give place to faith? Nor in the case of infants, dying such, is birth outside the covenant a trustworthy sign of reprobation, for the election of God is free. Accordingly there are many—adults and infants—of whose salvation we may be sure, but of reprobation we cannot be sure; such a judgment is necessarily unsafe even as to adults apparently living in sin, while as to infants who "die and give no sign," it is presumptuous and rash in the extreme.

The above is practically an outline of the teaching of Zwingli. He himself worked it out in its logical completeness, and taught:

1. That all believers are elect and hence are saved, though we cannot know infallibly who are true believers except in our own case.
2. All children of believers dying in infancy are elect and hence are saved, for this rests on God's immutable promise.
3. It is probable, from the superabundance of the gift of grace over the offence, that all infants dying such are elect and saved; so that death in infancy is a sign of election; and although this must be left with God, it is certainly rash and even impious to affirm their damnation.
4. All who are saved, whether adult or infant, are saved only by the free grace of God's election and through the redemption of Christ.\* But the central principle of Zwingli's teaching is not only the common possession of all Calvinists, but the essential postulate of their system. They can differ among themselves only in their determination of what the signs of election and reprobation are, and in their interpretation of these signs. On these grounds Calvinists early divided into five classes: 1. From the beginning a few

held with Zwingli that death in infancy is a sign of election, and hence that all who die in infancy are the children of God and enter at once into glory. After Zwingli, Bishop Hooper was probably the first\* to embrace this view.† It has more lately become the ruling view, and we may select Augustus Toplady‡ and Robert S. Candlish as its types. The latter, for example, writes: § "In many ways I apprehend it may be inferred from Scripture that all dying in infancy are elect, and are, therefore, saved. . . . The whole analogy of the plan of saving mercy seems to favor the same view, and now it may be seen, if I am not greatly mistaken, to be put beyond question by the bare fact that little children die. . . . The death of little children must be held to be one of the fruits of redemption. . . ." 2. At the opposite extreme a very few held that the only sure sign of election is faith with its fruits, and, therefore, we can have no real ground of knowledge concerning the fate of any infant; as, however, God certainly has his elect among them too, each man can cherish the hope that his children are of the elect. Peter Martyr approaches this sadly agnostic position (which was afterward condemned by the Synod of Dort), writing: "Neither am I to be thought to promise salvation to all the children of the faithful which depart without the sacrament, for if I should do so I might be counted rash; I leave them to be judged by the mercy of God, seeing I have no certainty concerning the secret election and predestination; but I only assert that those are truly saved to whom the divine election extends, although baptism does not intervene. Just so, I hope well concerning infants of this kind, because I see them born from faithful parents; and this thing has promises that are uncommon; and although they may not be general, *quoad omnes*, yet when I see nothing to the contrary it is right to hope well concerning the salvation of such infants."|| The great body of Calvinists, however, previous to the present century,

\* The adverb is used advisedly. CALVIN is often held to have believed that all infants dying such are saved. For a careful statement of this opinion see especially the full and learned paper of Dr. CHARLES W. SHIELDS, in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, 1890 (vol. i., pp. 654-651). To us, however, Calvin seems, while speaking with admirable caution, to imply that he believed some infants dying such to be lost. See, e.g., his comment on Rom. v. 17, and his treatises against Pighius, Servetus, and Castellio. Dr. SCHAFF repeatedly speaks of BULLINGER as agreeing in this point with Zwingli—on what grounds we know not unless the note in *Credo of Christendom*, i., 642, note 8, is intended to direct us to the passages quoted by Laurence as such. But these passages do not seem to support that opinion; and in a diligent search in Bullinger's works we find nothing to favor it and much to negative it.

† See reference *ante*, p. 129.

‡ *The Works of*, etc., new ed., 1887, p. 645.

§ *The Atonement*, etc., 1861, pp. 183, 184.

|| *Loci Communes*, i., class 4, cap 5, § 16 (compare iv., 100).

\* Zwingli's teaching may be conveniently worked out by the aid of AUGUST BAUR's valuable *Zwingli's Theologie*, especially vol. ii. (Halle, 1890). Zwingli's doctrine of original sin had practically no influence on this question.

took their position between these extremes. 3. Many held that faith and the promise are sure signs of election, and accordingly all believers and their children are certainly saved; but that the lack of faith and the promise is an equally sure sign of reprobation, so that all the children of unbelievers, dying such, are equally certainly lost. The younger Spanheim, for example, writes: "Confessedly, therefore, original sin is a most just cause of positive reprobation. Hence no one fails to see what we should think concerning the children of pagans dying in their childhood: for unless we acknowledge salvation outside of God's covenant and Church (like the Pelagians of old, and with them Tertullian, Epiphanius, Clement of Alexandria, of the ancients, and of the moderns, Andræus, Ludovicus Vives, Erasmus, and not a few others, against the whole Bible), and suppose that all the children of the heathen, dying in infancy, are saved, and that it would be a great blessing to them if they should be smothered by the midwives or strangled in the cradle, we should humbly believe that they are justly reprobated by God on account of the corruption (*labes*) and guilt (*reatus*) derived to them by natural propagation. Hence, too, Paul testifies (Rom. v. 14) that death has passed upon them which have not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, and distinguishes and separates (1 Cor. vii. 14) the children of the covenant as holy from the impure children of unbelievers."\* 4. More held that faith and the promise are certain signs of election, so that the salvation of believers' children is certain, while the lack of the promise only leaves us in ignorance of God's purpose: nevertheless that there is good ground for asserting that both election and reprobation have place in this unknown sphere. Accordingly they held that all the infants of believers, dying such, are saved, but that some of the infants of unbelievers, dying such, are lost. Probably no higher expression of this general view can be found than John Owen's. He argues that there are two ways in which God saves infants: "(1) by interesting them in the covenant, if their immediate or remote parents have been believers. He is a God of them and of their seed, extending his mercy to a thousand generations of them that fear him;† (2) by his grace of election, which is most free and not tied to any conditions, by which I make no doubt but God taketh many unto him in

Christ whose parents never knew or had been despisers of the Gospel."\* 5. Most Calvinists of the past, however, have simply held that faith and the promise are marks by which we may know assuredly that all those who believe and their children, dying such, are elect and saved, while the absence of sure marks of either election or reprobation in infants, dying such outside the covenant, leaves us without ground for inference concerning them, and they must be left to the judgment of God, which, however hidden from us, is assuredly just and holy and good. This agnostic view of the fate of uncovenanted infants has been held, of course, in conjunction with every degree of hope or the lack of hope concerning them, and thus in the hands of the several theologians it approaches each of the other views, except, of course, the second, which separates itself from the general Calvinistic attitude by allowing a place for reprobation even among believers' infants, dying such. Petrus de Witte may stand for one example. He says: "We must adore God's judgments and not curiously inquire into them. Of the children of believers it is not to be doubted but that they shall be saved, inasmuch as they belong unto the covenant. But because we have no promise of the children of unbelievers we leave them to the judgment of God."† Matthew Henry‡ and our own Jonathan Dickinson§ may also stand as types. It is this cautious, agnostic view which has the best historical right to be called the common Calvinistic one. Van Mastricht correctly says that while the Reformed hold that infants are liable to reprobation, yet "concerning *believers'* infants . . . they judge better things. But *unbelievers'* infants, because the Scriptures determine nothing *clearly* on the subject, they judge should be left to the divine discretion."||

The Reformed Confessions with characteristic caution refrain from all definition of the negative side of the salvation of infants, dying such, and thus confine themselves to emphasizing the gracious doctrine common to the whole body of Reformed thought. The fundamental Reformed doctrine of the Church is nowhere more beautifully stated than in the sixteenth article of the Old Scotch Confession, while the polemical appendix of 1580, in its protest against the errors of "antichrist," specifically mentions "his cruell judgement againis infants departing without the sacrament: his absolute

\* *Opera*, iii., cols. 1173-74, § 22.

† It is, perhaps, worth noting that this is the general Calvinistic view of what "children of believers" means. Compare CALVIN, *Tracts*, vol. iii., p. 351.

\* *Works*, x., 81; compare v., 137.

† *Catechism*, q. 37.

‡ *Theoretico-Pract. Theol.* (1734), p. 308.

§ *Works*, ii., 940.

|| *Sermons*, 305.

necessities of baptism." No synod probably ever met which labored under greater temptation to declare that some infants, dying in infancy, are reprobate, than the Synod of Dort. Possibly nearly every member of it held as his private opinion that there are such infants; and the certainly very shrewd but scarcely sincere methods of the Remonstrants in shifting the form in which this question came before the synod were very irritating. But the fathers of Dort, with truly Reformed loyalty to the positive declarations of Scripture, confined themselves to a clear testimony to the positive doctrine of infant salvation and a repudiation of the calumnies of the Remonstrants, without a word of negative inference. "Since we are to judge of the will of God from his Word," they say, "which testifies that the children of believers are holy, not by nature, but in virtue of the covenant of grace in which they together with their parents are comprehended, godly parents have no reason to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom it pleaseth God to call out of this life in their infancy" (Art. XVII.). Accordingly they repel in the Conclusion the calumny that the Reformed teach "that many children of the faithful are torn guiltless from their mothers' breasts and tyrannically plunged into hell."\* It is easy to say that nothing is here said of the children of any but the "godly" and of the "faithful;" this is true, and therefore it is *not* implied (as is so often thoughtlessly asserted) that the contrary of what is here asserted is true of the children of the ungodly; but nothing is taught of them at all. It is more to the purpose to observe that it is asserted that the children of believers, dying such, are saved; and that this assertion is an inestimable advance on that of the Council of Trent and that of the Augsburg Confession that baptism is necessary to salvation. It is the confessional doctrine of the Reformed churches and of the Reformed churches alone, that all believers' infants, dying in infancy, are saved.

What has been said of the Synod of Dort may be repeated of the Westminster

ster Assembly. The Westminster divines were generally at one in the matter of infant salvation with the doctors of Dort, but, like them, they refrained from any deliverance as to its negative side. That death in infancy does not prejudice the salvation of God's elect they asserted in the chapter of their Confession which treats of the application of Christ's redemption to his people: "All those whom God hath predestined unto life, and those only, he is pleased, in his appointed and accepted time, effectually to call, by his word and Spirit, . . . so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace. . . . Elect infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved by Christ, through the Spirit who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth."\* With this declaration of their faith that such of God's elect as die in infancy are saved by his own mysterious working in their hearts, although incapable of the response of faith, they were content. Whether these elect comprehend all infants, dying such, or some only—whether there is such a class as non-elect infants, dying in infancy, their words neither say nor suggest. No Reformed confession enters into this question; no word is said by any one of them which either asserts or implies either that some infants are reprobated or that all are saved. What has been held in common by the whole body of Reformed theologians on this subject is asserted in these confessions; of what has been disputed among them the confessions are silent. And silence is as favorable to one type as to another.

Although the cautious agnostic position as to the fate of uncovenanted infants dying in infancy may fairly claim to be the historical Calvinistic view, it is perfectly obvious that it is not *per se* any more Calvinistic than any of the others. The adherents of all the types enumerated above are clearly within the limits of the system, and hold with the same firmness to the fundamental position that salvation is suspended on no earthly cause, but ultimately rests on God's electing grace alone, while our knowledge of who are saved depends on our view

\* The language here used has a not uninteresting history. It is CALVIN'S challenge to Castellio: "Put forth now thy virulence against God, who hurls innocent babes torn from their mothers' breasts into eternal death" (*De occultis Dei Providentia*, in *Opp.* ed., Amst., viii., pp. 644-45). The underlying conception that God condemns infants to eternal death seems to be Calvin's; but the mode of expression is Calvin's *reductio ad absurdum* (or rather *ad blasphemiam*) of Castellio's opinions. Nevertheless the Remonstrants allowed themselves in their polemic zeal to apply the whole sentiment to the orthodox, and that, even in a still more sharpened form—viz., with reference to *believers'* children. This very gross calumny the Synod repels. Its deliverance is subjected to a very sharp and not very candid criticism by EPISCOPUS (*Opera* I., l., p. 176, and specially II., p. 28).

\* Westminster *Confession of Faith*, X., i. and iii. The opinion that a body of non-elect infants dying in infancy and not saved is implied in this passage, although often controversially asserted, is not only a wholly unreasonable opinion exegetically, but is absolutely negated by the history of the formation of this clause in the Assembly as recorded in the *Minutes*, and has never found favor among the expositors of the Confession. DAVID DICKSON'S (1684) treatment of the section shows that he understands it to be directed against the Anabaptists; and all careful students of the Confession understand it as above, including SHAW, HODGE, MACPHERSON and MITCHELL. The same is true of all schools of adherents to the Confession. See, e.g., LYMAN BEECHER (*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, I., pp. 49, 81); cf. also PHILIP SCHAFF (*Credo of Christendom*, I., 798).

of what are the signs of election and of the clearness with which they may be interpreted. As these several types differ only in the replies they offer to the subordinate question, there is no "revolution" involved in passing from one to the other; and as in the lapse of time the balance between them swings this way or that, it can only be truly said that there is advance or retrogression, not in fundamental conception, but in the clearness with which details are read and with which the outline of the doctrine is filled up. In the course of time the agnostic view of the fate of uncovenanted infants, dying such, has given place to an ever-growing universality of conviction that these infants too, are included in the election of grace; so that to day few Calvinists can be found who do not hold with Toplady, and Doddridge, and Thomas Scott, and John Newton, and James P. Wilson, and Nathan L. Rice, and Robert J. Breckinridge, and Robert S. Candlish, and Charles Hodge, and the whole body of those of recent years whom the Calvinistic churches delight to honor, that all who die in infancy are the children of God and enter at once into his glory—not because original sin alone is not deserving of eternal punishment (for all are born children of wrath), nor because they are less guilty than others (for relative innocence would merit only relatively light punishment, not freedom from all punishment), nor because they die in infancy (for that they die in infancy is not the cause but the effect of God's mercy toward them), but simply because God in his infinite love has chosen them in Christ, before the foundation of the world, by a loving foreordination of them unto adoption as sons in Jesus Christ. Thus, as they hold, the Reformed theology has followed the light of the Word until its brightness has illuminated all its corners, and the darkness has fled away.

7. The most serious peril which the orderly development of the Christian doctrine of the salvation of infants has had to encounter, as men strove, age after age, more purely and thoroughly to apprehend it, has arisen from the intrusion into Christian thought of what we may, without lack of charity, call the unchristian conception of man's natural innocence. For the task which was set to Christian thinking was to obtain a clear understanding of God's revealed purpose of mercy to the infants of a guilty and wrath-deserving race. And the Pelagianizing conception of the innocence of human infancy, in however subtle a form presented, put the solution of the problem in jeopardy by suggesting that it needed no

solution. We have seen how some Greek Fathers cut the knot with the facile formula that infantile innocence, while not deserving of supernatural reward, was yet in no danger of being adjudged to punishment. We have seen how in the more active hands of Pelagius and his companions, as part of a great unchristian scheme, it menaced Christianity itself, and was repelled only by the vigor and greatness of an Augustine. We have seen how the same conception, creeping gradually into the Latin Church in the milder form of semi-Pelagianism, lulled her heart to sleep with suggestions of less and less ill-desert for original sin, until she neglected the problem of infant salvation altogether and comforted herself with a constantly attenuating doctrine of infant punishment. If infants are so well off without Christ, there is little impulse to consider whether they may not be in Christ.

The Reformed churches could not hope to work out the problem free from menace from the perennial enemy. The crisis came in the form of the Remonstrant controversy. The anthropology of the Remonstrants was distinctly semi-Pelagian, and on that basis no solid advance was possible. Nor was the matter helped by their postulation of a universal atonement which lost in intention as much as it gained in extension. Infants may have very little to be saved from, but their salvation from even it cannot be wrought by an atonement which only purchased for them the opportunity for salvation—an opportunity of which they cannot avail themselves, however much the natural power of free choice is uninjured by the fall, for the simple reason that they die infants; while God cannot be held to make them, without their free choice, partakers of this atonement without an admission of that sovereign discrimination among men which it was the very object of the whole Remonstrant theory to exclude. It is not strange that the Remonstrants looked with some favor on the Romish theory of *pœna damni*. Though the doctrine of the salvation of all infants dying in infancy became one of their characteristic tenets, it had no logical basis in their scheme of faith, and their proclamation of it could have no direct effect in working out the problem. Indirectly it had a twofold effect. On the one hand, it retarded the true course of the development of doctrine, by leading those who held fast to biblical teaching on original sin and particular election, to oppose the doctrine of the salvation of all dying in infancy, as if it were necessarily inconsistent with these teachings. Probably Calvinists were never so



united in affirming that some infants, dying such, are reprobated, as in the height of the Remonstrant controversy. On the other hand, so far as the doctrine of the salvation of all infants, dying such, was accepted by the anti-Remonstrants, it tended to bring in with it, in more or less measure, the other tenets with which it was associated in their teaching, and thus to lead men away from the direct path along which alone the solution was to be found. Wesleyan Arminianism brought only an amelioration, not a thoroughgoing correction of the faults of Remonstrantism. The theoretical postulation of original sin and natural inability, corrected by the gift to all men of a gracious ability on the basis of universal atonement in Christ, was a great advance. But it left the salvation of infants dying in infancy logically as unaccounted for as original Remonstrantism. *Ex hypothesi*, the universal atonement could bring to these infants only what it brought to all others, and this was something short of salvation—viz., an ability to improve the grace given alike to all. But infants, dying such, cannot improve grace; and therefore, it would seem, cannot be saved, unless we suppose a special gift to them over and above what is given to other men—a supposition subversive at once of the whole Arminian contention. The assertion of the salvation of all infants dying in infancy, although a specially dear tenet of Wesleyan Arminianism, remains therefore, as with the earlier Remonstrants, unconformable to the system. The Arminian difficulty, indeed, lies one step further back; it does not make clear how *any* infant dying in infancy is to be saved.\*

The truth seems to be that there is but one logical outlet for any system of doctrine which suspends the determination of who are to be saved upon any action of man's own will, whether in the use of gracious or natural ability (that is, of course, if it is unwilling to declare infants, dying such, incapable of salvation); and that lies in the extension of "the day of grace" for such into the other world. Otherwise, there will inevitably be brought in covertly, in the salvation of infants, that very sovereignty of God, "irresistible" grace and passive receptivity, to deny which is the whole *raison d'être* of these

schemes. There are indications that this is being increasingly felt among those who are most concerned; we have noted it most recently among the Cumberland Presbyterians,\* who, perhaps alone of Christian denominations, have embodied in their confession their conviction that all infants, dying such, are saved. The theory of a probation in the other world for such as have had in this no such probation as to secure from them a decisive choice has come to us from Germany, and bears accordingly a later Lutheran coloring. Its roots are, however, planted in the earliest Lutheran thinking,† and are equally visible in the writings of the early Remonstrants; its seeds are present, in fact, wherever man's salvation is decisively suspended on any act of his own. But the outcome offered by it certainly affords no good reason for affirming that all infants, dying such, are saved. It is not uncommon, indeed, for the advocates of this theory to suppose the present life to be a more favorable opportunity for moral renewal in Christ than the next.‡ Some, no doubt, think otherwise. But in either event what can assure us that *all* will be so renewed? We are ready to accept the subtle argument in Dr. Kedney's valuable work, *Christian Doctrine Harmonized*,§ as the best that can be said in the premises; for although Dr. Kedney denies the theory of "future probation" in general, he shares the general "ethical" view on which it is founded, and projects the salvation of infants dying in infancy into the next world on the express ground that they are incapable of choice here. He assures us that they will surely welcome the knowledge of God's love in Christ there. But we miss the grounds of assurance, on the fundamental postulates of the scheme. If the choice of these infants, while it remains free, can be made thus certain *there*, why not the same for all men *here*? And if their choice is thus made certain, is their destiny *determined* by their choice or by God, who makes that choice certain? Assuredly no thoroughfare is open along this path for a consistent doctrine of the salvation of all those that die in infancy. But this seems the only pathway that is consistently open to those, of whatever name, who make man's own undetermined act the determining factor in his salvation.||

\* The prevailing view in the Methodist Episcopal Church is probably that infants are all born justified. The difficulties of this view are hinted by a not unfriendly hand in *The Cumberland Presbyterian Review* for January, 1890, p. 113. The best that can be said toward placing the dying infant "in the same essential gracious position as that into which the justified and regenerate adult is brought by voluntary faith," may be read from Dr. D. D. WHEDON's pen in *The Methodist Quarterly Review* for 1883, p. 757. It is inconsequent; and its consequences are portentous to Arminianism—or shall we say that God does not determine who are to die in infancy?

\* *Cumberland Presbyterian Review*, July, 1890, p. 369; cf. January, 1890, p. 113.

† Cf. e.g., ANDREE, *Actis Colloq. Montisbelligitar*, p. 447, 448; and note BEZA's crushing reply.

‡ Cf. *Progressive Orthodoxy*, p. 76.

§ Vol. II., pp. 91 sq.

|| The Rev. D. FISK HARRIS, himself a Congregational minister (*Calvinism Contrary to God's Word and Man's Moral Nature*, p. 107), tells us that a view not essentially differing from Dr. Kedney's "seems to be the prevailing view of Congre-

8. The drifts of doctrine which have come before us in this rapid sketch may be reduced to three generic views. 1. There is what may be called the *ecclesiastical doctrine*, according to which the Church, in the sense of an outwardly organized body, is set as the sole fountain of salvation in the midst of a lost world; the Spirit of God and eternal life are its peculiar endowments, of which none can partake save through communion with it. Accordingly to all those departing this life in infancy, baptism, the gateway to the Church, is the condition of salvation. 2. There is what may be called the *gracious doctrine*, according to which the visible Church is not set in the world to determine by the gift of its ordinances who are to be saved, but as the harbor of refuge for the saints, to gather into its bosom those whom God himself in his infinite love has selected in Christ Jesus before the foundation of the world in whom to show the wonders of his grace. Men accordingly are not saved because they are baptized, but they are baptized because they are saved, and the failure of the ordinance does not argue the failure of the grace. Accordingly to all those departing this life in infancy, inclusion in God's saving purpose alone is the condition of salvation; we may be able to infer this purpose from manifest signs, or we may not be able to infer it, but in any case it cannot fail. 3. There is what may be called the *humanitarian doctrine*, according to which the determining cause of man's salvation is his own free choice, under whatever variety of theories as to the source of his power to exercise this choice, or the manner in which it is exercised. Accordingly whether one is saved or not is dependent not on baptism or on inclusion in God's hidden purpose, but on the decisive activity of the soul itself.

The first of these doctrines is characteristic of the early, the mediæval, and the Roman churches, not without echoes in those sections of Protestantism which love to think of themselves as "more historical" or less radically reformed than the rest. The second is the doctrine of the Reformed churches. These two are not opposed to one another in their most fundamental conception, but are related rather as an earlier misapprehension and a later correction of the same basal doctrine. The phrase *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* is the common property of both; they differ only in their understanding of the "ecclesia," whether of the visible or in-

visible church. The third doctrine, on the other hand, has cropped out ever and again in every age of the Church, has dominated whole sections of it and whole ages, but has never, in its purity, found expression in any great historic confession or exclusively characterized any age. It is, in fact, not a section of Church doctrine at all, but an intrusion into Christian thought from without. In its purity it has always and in all communions been accounted heresy; and only as it has been more or less modified and concealed among distinctively Christian adjuncts has it ever made a position for itself in the Church. Its fundamental conception is the antipodes of that of the other doctrines.

The first step in the development of the doctrine of infant salvation was taken when the Church laid the foundation which from the beginning has stood firm, *Infants too are lost members of a lost race, and only those savingly united to Christ are saved.* In its definition of what infants are thus savingly united to Christ the early Church missed the path. All that are brought to him in baptism, was its answer. Long ages passed before the second step was taken in the correct definition. The way was prepared indeed by Augustine's doctrine of grace, by which salvation was made dependent on the dealings of God with the individual heart. But his eyes were holden that he should not see it. It was reserved to Zwingli to proclaim it clearly, *All the elect children of God, who are regenerated by the Spirit who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth.* The sole question that remains is, Who of those that die in infancy are the elect children of God? Tentative answers were given. The children of God's people, said some. The children of God's people, with such others as his love has set upon to call, said others. *All those that die in infancy* said others still; and to this reply Reformed thinking and not Reformed thinking only, but in one way or another, logically or illogically, the thinking of the Christian world has been converging. Is it the Scriptural answer? It is as legitimate and as logical an answer as any, on Reformed postulates. It is legitimate on no other postulates. If it be really conformable to the Word of God it will stand; and the third step in the development of the doctrine of infant salvation is already taken. But if it stand, it can stand on no other theological basis than the Reformed. If all infants dying in infancy are saved, it is certain that they are not saved by or through the ordinances of the visible Church (for they

gationalists." This he states thus: "All infants become moral agents after death. Exercising a holy choice, they are saved on the ground of the atonement and by regeneration."

have not received them), nor through their own improvement of a grace common to all men (for they are incapable of activity); it can only be through the almighty operation of the Holy Spirit who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth, through whose ineffable grace the Father gathers these little ones to the home he has prepared for them.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

## IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD.

### THOUGHTS ON ST. JOHN i. 1-5.

(Translated from the German of Pastor W. F. Besser, by the Rev. Arthur Lloyd, M.A., Professor of Classics, Trinity College, Toronto, Can.)

WHEN St. John composed his Gospel, with a view to leaving it as a precious heirloom for the Church, the other three Gospels had already long been in the hands and hearts of Christians. For this reason he does not undertake to set forth in an orderly arrangement all that he has preserved of Christ in the treasury of his infinitely rich memory; but, as he says himself, "Many other signs there are that Jesus wrought in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book. But these things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that through faith ye may have life in His name" (St. John xx. 30, 31). *Jesus Christ, the Son of God—through faith life in the Name of this Jesus*: in these two clauses is contained the summary of the Gospel of St. John. The ancient fathers were fond of comparing John to an eagle, and it is true that on wings of inward meditation he soars aloft to the loftiest summits of the blessed mysteries of our Redemption. His eye has been enlightened by the loving contemplation of the Light of Life, the sun has made it sun-like. "The Gospel of John," says an old teacher, "is a still deep lake in which are reflected the pleasant shores that surround it, and the deep clear sky above it, with sun, moon and stars." In early times he was called the Theologian, the divine instructed in the things of God (cf. the title of the Book of Revelation). But it was no human wisdom, but the divine unction (1 John ii. 20) that gave him his learned tongue; the unction flowing from a personal union of an adoring, sacrificing soul with her eternal bridegroom. Luther says of this "theology": "John speaks poorly

and simply, like an infant, and his words have to the ears of the worldly wise a very childish sound; but beneath them there is hidden so great a majesty that no man, be he never so enlightened, can fathom or express them;" and Löhle describes the Johannic style as follows: "What is it that makes the writings of the holy Apostle John so extraordinarily interesting to us; what is that force whereby when we hear or read them they so powerfully take possession of our souls? It is true, there is in them a tone of simplicity and love; but whence comes this simplicity and love? It is not the simplicity of the child, but that of a Seraph, and the love is not of the kind that the world has and gives, but such as blossoms around the everlasting throne of the blessed Son of God. It is the simplicity of possession, which reappears in the simplicity of form, and it is the love for the One on whose breast the loving disciple lay at the Supper, which produces the language of love. Simple love for the One Jesus, who is True Man but also True God and Everlasting Life, this it is that speaks from the mouth of John, and compels the spirits, the spirits of men, of all, that is, that come into the world, to yearn after the beloved Master of St. John, and for the bosom on which he lay." On the bosom of Jesus the fire which burnt so mightily in the maiden spirit of John—the Jeremiah of the New Testament—was kindled into that still glow of holy love whereof we sing, when we offer ourselves in holy metaphor upon the altar of praise that we may be wholly consumed by the glowing coals upon the Altar of Eternal love;\* and the words of his mouth are the echoing thunder accompanying the flashing lightning of the love of his life (Mark iii. 17). Whatever Jesus *does* is, to the spirit of the disciple, filled with the glory of the only begotten Son, a *sign* pointed to by the *word* of the Lord. As he spoke to Peter when he saw the Risen One standing on the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth, so he speaks continually in joyful accents to the reader of his Gospel—"It is the Lord."

It will be well for us if in reading the Gospel we can make our own the experience of Claudius: "Whenever I read in John I feel as though I saw him at the Last Supper lying before me on the bosom of his Master, as though his angel held the light for me, and at certain passages wished to fall

\* I have not ventured to translate the exact words of the poem which I have paraphrased in my translation.

Trage Gluth auf den Altar,  
Opfre Dir mich ganz und gar,  
Dass von mir doch Nichts mehr bliebe,  
O du allerliebste Liebe.

on my neck and whisper something in my ear. I am very far indeed from understanding all that I read, but yet I often seem to catch a distant glimpse of what John meant; and even when I look at a totally obscure passage, I yet have a presentiment of a great majestic meaning which I shall some day comprehend."

V. 1. *In the beginning was the Word.* Mark, too, commences with this word: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (Mark i. 1). But John speaks of another beginning than that which was made by the voice of the Preacher in the Wilderness. He goes further back than Matthew, who commences with Abraham, whose promised seed is Jesus Christ the Son of David; further back than Luke, who traces the genealogical tree of the Son of Man to Adam, the first originator of sinful generations. As Moses deals with the history of creation, so John deals with his Gospel. "In the beginning." Only John goes higher even than Moses. *In the beginning*, before God created the heaven and the earth, the Word already *Was*. It *came not into being*, but it *was*: there was no time when it was not, for it is the Everlasting Word. Before this Word, which is announced in the Gospel, appeared in time, it *was in the beginning* (cf. 1 St. John i. 1-3); ere it became the Light and Life of men it *was with God*; ere it became Flesh, it was God.

John uses the name *Word* to describe the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father (v. 18). This name he uses, because through Him were all things made that were made (v. 3), because He is the Creative Word of God (Gen. i. 3, cf. Heb. xi. 3; Ps. xxxiii. 6, 9), and because Life is in Him (v. 4), and He is the Word of Life (1 John i. 1, 2). It is not only that He *has* and *bears* the Word of God; He *is* this Word which God sends (Ps. cvii. 20, cxlvii. 15, Acts x. 36); His name is called the Word of God (Rev. xix. 13). He who speaks through the prophet: "Behold, I myself that speak will be there" (Isa. lii. 6), the living God as His own Revealer, He is the Word (cf. cap. viii. 25 and Heb. i. 1, 2). The recognition that the One God is no *solitary* God, that in the perfect divine Being which is Everlasting life, an *I* and a *Thou* and a *We* are enclosed and associated together in love, is to be seen here and there even in the Old Testament, though there the ore lies "half buried in the mine." Through the whole of the Old Testament from Genesis to Malachi strides the *Angel*

of the Lord, the Angel who is distinguished from the other angels in this that God's *Name*, the complete fulness of the Divine Attributes, is *in Him* (Ex. xxiii. 21), and that thus the Being of God is reflected in Him as in the *Angel of His Presence*\* (Isa. lxiii. 9, cf. Heb. 1, 3; Col. i. 15). In Him God looks lovingly upon His Own Self, and through Him God reveals Himself to whomsoever He will. We may compare also the personified Wisdom of God in Proverbs viii., especially in verses 22 and 23, and St. Matthew xi. 19. In the Word which was God "from the beginning," God ever expressed His Being, placed in it the fulness of His gifts, for it is "a word which God has with Himself in His Divine Being, and which is the thought of His heart. He therefore says of Himself that the Godhead is wholly in it, and that He that has the Word has the whole of the Godhead. There is likewise in it the whole of the heart of God, just as we recognize the heart of man in the word of man; only here the likeness is not quite complete, for the human word bears with it distinctly only the nature (or contents) of the human heart, but here the divine Heart is itself naturally and actually in the Word" (Luther). Or as Brenz, agreeing with the Fathers, says: "As the stream is never separated from the fountain, as the ray is never divided from the Sun, so also the Son of God is never separated nor divided from the Father."

"And the Word was with God"—with God, not only in Him. It was God's assessor,† "the man that is God's fellow" (Zech. xiii. 7). Not an attribute remaining in God nor a force proceeding from him, but the Word is a *person*, an independent "*I*" echoing to the "*Thou*" of the Divine Love, and filled with the contents of the Divine Life. In the Greek word corresponding to the English *with* (πρὸς τὸν Θεόν—toward God) the idea of mutual love is emphasized, and the Word is represented as eternally turned toward God. John wishes to tell us not only *where* the Word was, but *how* it was in its eternal association of love with God. Here then we have *two*: God and the Word. But the Word—personally distinguished from God—is a *different person* indeed, but *not a different thing*, and therefore, lest any one should ever separate in essence (οὐσία, substance) the Word from God, or the Son from the Father, St. John turns round again, closes the circle of his argument, and says:

*And the Word was God. If you ask*

\* Lit. *Engel seines Angesichts*—"angel of His countenance."  
† "Beimann."



when was the Word? St. John answers: "In the beginning." If you ask, "How was the Word?" St. John replies, "It was with God." If you further ask, "What was the Word?" he answers, "The Word was God"—"equal God of Might and Honor." Hence we see that the Apostle, in speaking of the Father whose Son the Word is, calls Him God absolutely ("the Word was with God"), but he immediately says of the Word that his essence is God. So then there are not two Gods but one God, and yet John teaches us to distinguish the divine Persons, the one with whom the Word is and the one who is the Word. Now the Apostle combines the first and third clauses of this verse with the second clause, and continues:

V. 2. *The same*—this Word which was God—*was in the beginning with God.* In the beginning, the Word, which itself was God, was with God. It was not in the beginning contained as it were in God, so that it became a distinct person only when it became flesh and dwelt among us (v. 14); but as being God of God it was in the beginning with God. Before it dwelt among us it was from everlasting with God, and before a created Being existed to be made blessed through the Word, the Eternal Word was itself the life and blessedness of God, "blessed forever" (1 Tim. vi. 15). But in order that the blessed life, which was in the eternal Word with God, may be participated in by creatures to the praise of that Love which communicates it to them, therefore has God created a World and created it through that same Word in which He had from everlasting an object of His love.

V. 3. *All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made.* The Word was: all things were made through the Word. Everything without exception—the Angels in the height, the worm in the dust—owes its existence to the Word. There is nothing that has not been made, and there is nothing made that has not been made through the uncreated eternal Word. The ranks of created beings do not contain this Son; they were made through Him, therefore He must be their Creator. Not as though the Son had only like an instrument carried out the creative will of the Father; rather, the Son Himself is the *revealed will* of the Father, and in this will is to be found the cause of creation. This idea is thus expressed by the Apostle Paul (Col. i. 16): "In Him were all things created both in heaven and earth;" and then as a proof that He

through whom all things were created is also the foreseen and provided Life-container\* of all created things, he adds: "All things were made through Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and all things exist in Him." "I have manifested Thee upon earth" is the prayer which the Son offers in his high priestly character (St. John xvii. 4); with this manifestation was completed the work of the divine Love, which commenced when the World was created through the word and for the Word—i.e., to the end that the world might become a participator in the majesty which the Word had eternally with God.

Here let us stand still for a moment and rightly comprehend the comfort of this article of faith which John, the paragon of the evangelists, so forcibly lays down for us.

He carries our Lord Jesus Christ far beyond Adam and all creatures into unending eternity and teaches us to recognize in Him the eternal Word, who was in the beginning before the world was created (Ps. xc. 2): who was with God as His beloved Son; who was God of one substance with the Father; through whom all Creation was called into being. Thus powerfully does the Apostle teach the true Divinity of Christ, in order that our faith may have a foundation in the Scripture which wavereth not. Joyfully may we place our trust in this Christ, for He is no Creature, but true God (Jeremiah xvii. 5). Our salvation is rooted in this Word which was in the beginning with God (Eph. i. 4). He who has redeemed us with His precious Blood is the same who has also created us; for He that should redeem lost mankind could not be inferior to Him by whom and for whom mankind was originally created. "This article of our Salvation and Blessedness we can never grasp and comprehend through human reason, but we must believe it as the Scripture speaks thereof, and must therefore hold fast the belief that Christ, our Lord, is true and natural God, equal to the Father in divine Substance and Nature. If Christ remain not true natural God, born of the Father from everlasting, and the Creator of all creatures, then are we lost. For how should I be benefited by the Passion and Death of the Lord Christ if He were only a man as thou art? Then could He not have conquered Devil, Death or Sin. He would have been far too weak for them. Therefore must we have such a Saviour who is true God, and Lord over Sin, Death, the Devil and Hell. If He, as the Son of God, shed

\* Vorhergesehenes Lebensinhalt alles Geschaffenen.

His Blood for us that He might redeem us and purify us from sin, and if we believe it and hold it before the Devil's nose when he terrifies and plagues us on account of our sins, then is the Devil soon defeated; he must retire and leave us at ease. For the hook—that is, the Divinity of Christ, was well concealed beneath the worm—that is, His Humanity (which the Devil swallowed when Christ died and was buried), and tore his belly so that he could not retain Him, but was forced to let Him go, who forthwith swallowed up death, which is our highest comfort. For just as he failed to retain Christ in death, so also will he be unable to retain under the power of death those that believe on Christ. With this preface to the Gospel of St. John, and with the Symbol of Nicaea we can forcibly throw to the ground the devil and all heretics that ever were or can be. For though the heretics ventured to master and pervert this Gospel with a specious show of being in accordance with reason; yet in the end was their folly made manifest and condemned by Christendom as a diabolic lie, and so disappeared with shame" (Luther).

## II.

All things were made through the Word; but the same Word which is the free cause of their coming into existence is also the sole reason of their continuance (chap. v. 17).

V. 4. *In Him was Life.* The essence of the Word is Life, because it is God, and everything that lives derives its vital force only from Him, for out of God there is no life (chap. v. 26). John knows only one divine, blessed, everlasting life; that which separates itself from God falls into death, and that which returns not to God remains in death. Whatever, outside of and without God, boasts itself of life, is but masked death. In the mouth of John the noble term "life" always (it occurs fifty-four times in the Gospel) conveys the idea of divine life. In our language it is true (as well as occasionally in Holy Scripture) we do speak of a life without God, a sinful, worldly, earthly, transient, unhappy life; John, however, has assigned the term "life" exclusively to that which is essentially life (1 Tim. vi. 19)—i.e., to that which has its origin in the divine fulness of life, and its existence in communion with God. When "God saw all that He had made, and beheld it was very good" (Gen. i. 31), He beheld only life derived from His life, and His Pleasure rested upon all Creation. Never failing life and unfading bloom

poured forth without ceasing from the source of all life. Since the earth and that which it contains is no longer very good, but is corrupted through sin and separated from God, Death has obtained dominion (Rom. viii. 20); but again, on the other hand, that which in the midst of a corrupting world has life has ever lived and still to-day lives only *in Him* whose Love is stronger than death, and whose quickening spirit renews the face of the earth (Ps. civ. 30; Acts xvii. 18; Col. i. 17; Heb. i. 3).

Hitherto the Apostle has shown us the everlasting Word as the Source of Life for "all things," he now goes further and shows us what Man especially derives from it.

*And the life was the light of men.* The life of the everlasting Word, the bearer and sustainer of all things was the light of men. Of all creatures man alone, created in the image of God, recognizes the life which fills him: man alone can say: "*I* live, God is *my* life; for he alone is a Person, an "*I*" quickened by divine life; the living breath breathed into him by God (Gen. ii. 7) speaks in his heart: "*I* live—thou, O Lord God, art my life!" And for this reason, because fellowship with the Life, which has and is the everlasting Word, manifests itself in the spirit of man as a loving *recognition* of God, the Apostle says, "The life was the *light* of men." Earthly light is bright and makes bright, shows light and enlightens: it is in the Scripture the continuous symbol of the holy and sanctifying God, of Him who has life in Himself and imparts life to others, of Him who is true and who leads into truth. "With Thee is the Well of Life; in Thy light shall we see light" (Ps. xxxvi. 10). Life and light are in nature inseparably connected with one another; so is it also in the sphere of the Spirit; where there is divine, holy life, there is also divine holy light, and where there is light there is also life. Our Apostle knows no light worthy of the name but what has radiated forth from the life of the everlasting light (cf. viii. 12; ix. 5; xii. 35; 1 John ii. 8; Col. i. 12; 2 Tim. i. 10). Outside of God in Christ there is no light but pure darkness; just as out of Him there is no life but only death. In Christ is the Light of Life; out of Christ, the night of death. "When he says, 'In Him was life, and the life was the light of men,' it is a thunderbolt directed against the light of reason, free will, human powers, etc. It is as though he would say, All men that are out of Christ lack life before God, and are dead and damned. For how can they have

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life, seeing that they not only walk in darkness, but are darkness?" (Luther.)

The life *was* the light of men—i.e., from the beginning, from the time that men first were. Just as the everlasting Word was God in the beginning, so it was from the beginning the life and light of men. It is true that when, in consequence of sin, death and darkness overtook men, it seemed as though, in the world deprived of Paradise, Life and Light had been extinguished forever, as they have perished forever in the abode of the devil and his angels (Jude 6). But no! Praised be the everlasting love which inclines itself to mislead sinners, in order to overcome death with its life and darkness with its light!

V. 5. *And the light shineth in darkness.* The life was from the beginning the light of men, and thus as the light of men it *shines* now in the place into which men have fallen—in the darkness. In Paradise everything was perfect life and light. We cannot properly say that the light shone in Paradise; Paradise itself shone as a luminary. But since sin has entered into the world, and since the race of men alienated from the life which exists in the love of God walks in the darkness instead of in the light—since that time the light is shining in the darkness, and the blacker the darkness is, the more brilliant is the light in the darkness (Rom. v. 20). But how does the light shine in the darkness? Read Gen. iii. 15. There, in the Protangelium, the first ray of light falls upon the poor darkened world; the life which from the beginning has been the light of men falls upon the sinner as a sweet light of mercy; the everlasting Word, the *Creator* of a holy, living, bright world, begins to reveal Himself as the *Redeemer* of a sinful, mortal, dark world. All that the divine love has ever instituted for the redemption of fallen manhood, from the first promise of the victorious Woman-Seed, crusher of the Serpent, down to the fulfilment of the promise, can be summed up as being a shining of the light in the darkness. How clearly was the light burning when a Noah, an Abraham, a Moses, finally, when the whole of the Covenant people were the bearers of this light! The whole economy of the old Covenant is lighted up by the light of the Salvation offered to sinners; the Covenant, the Law, the Worship with its Types are all rays of the light that penetrates the darkness. Christ is the Hidden Light\* of the whole Old Testament. Yes; even those nations who before the light of

oral revelation had wandered astray on their own ways were never left absolutely without light in their darkness (Acts xiv. 16). God was never far from them, although they had removed themselves far from God (Acts xvii. 27). Sparks of light flashed even into the dark heathen hearts; for creation without speech or language preached to them the living God, and their conscience spoke of His Law (Rom. i. 20, ii. 15), and countless heathen sacrifices bear witness to the thoughts of their conscience accusing and excusing one another. With silent but powerful step the living God strides through the history of the nations, and even the loud stamping of human feet does not prevent the human ear from hearing this secret and solemn march of God. The revelation of God in His righteous judgments has at all times flashed like lightning over the darkness of the World, and still does so: over the raging sea of the peoples there still can be heard in unmistakable accents the words of the second Psalm, "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and so ye perish from the right way."

But how fares it with the light which draws men out of darkness? *And the darkness comprehended it not.* John here gives to those who refuse to be illuminated by the light the name of *darkness*. All those, and there were many of them, who loved the darkness more than the light (iii. 19) and became so identified with the darkness as to obtain the name of "darkness," these did not comprehend the light that shone on them nor hold it fast. St. Paul (Rom. i. 18) has a similar thought—"Men hold the truth in unrighteousness;" the love of unrighteousness extinguishes the spark of truth thrown by the light into their heart, so that it fails to kindle a flame. Thus no man that walks in the darkness has any excuse. The darkness in which all men alike are placed by nature will not be the cause of our condemnation; for the light shines in the darkness, willing and able to overcome it. But the *love of darkness*, which renders us unable to comprehend the light, will condemn us if we die in it. It is true that not only darkness but the love of darkness is our inheritance as sinners. But it is also true that the Light, our Lord Jesus Christ, kindles in us such a flame of love that the love for Him which He effects in us breaks and dispels the love for the darkness if we will only acquiesce in his illumination and not meet it with dark reluctance. It is true, the Everlasting Light as long as He has been shining in the darkness has ever found those who stretched out their

\* Lichtinhalt.

hands to Him, and did not wish to remain in the darkness after they had seen the Light (compare verse 12 with verse 11); but there were but few of these. In the deepest anguish St. John looks upon the work of love wrought by the everlasting Word among the sinful race, and in sorrowful words describes the history of the World and her peoples—"The light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not."

## THE LATE DEAN CHURCH.

BY CANON MALCOM MACCOLL.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), January, 1891.

[Instead of a formal biographical sketch it has seemed best to give the following articles on Dean Church, largely reminiscent and descriptive. Readers may be grateful, however, for a brief summary of facts. Richard William Church was born at Cintra, April 25, 1815; took first-class honors at Oxford, in 1836, and shortly afterward was elected Fellow of Oriel College; was rector of Whatley from 1853 to 1871, when he was appointed Dean of St. Paul's. His principal writings are: *Essays and Reviews* (1854), *Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford* (1868), *Life of St. Anselm* (1871), *The Beginning of the Middle Ages* (1877), *Dante: an Essay* (1878), *Spenser* (1879). He died at Dover, December 2, 1890.—ED.]

IN the beginning of this year I was called upon, at short notice, to put down in this *Review* some obituary impressions of the late Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger. I now venture, on still shorter notice, to pay such tribute as I can to the memory of the late Dean of St. Paul's. In the interval Lightfoot, Liddon, Newman have passed away. The extinction of five such luminaries in the ecclesiastical firmament is a rare event in the course of one year. They had much in common; but it might be said of each of them that "his soul was like a star and dwelt apart." The greatest of them, taking him all round, was undoubtedly Dr. Döllinger, greatest in intellectual range and in extent and minute accuracy of erudition. His learning was vast and various, but was ever at his command in its smallest details. His large library filled several rooms opening into each other, most of the shelves holding two rows of books, one behind the other. In the room next the one in which Dr. Döllinger himself worked it was my

privilege to have a table whenever I went to Munich; and when I wanted a reference, no matter what the subject, he could tell me in a moment where to find it, and if I did not light upon it at once he would jump up with an agility hardly impaired by the weight of more than fourscore years and a half (last time I saw him), and put his hand upon the volume, even when a row of books stood in front of it. His spare form and exuberant vitality seemed to defy the ordinary law of decay. He knew not what illness was till the prevalent influenza seized him; and even that he shook off with comparative ease and was in a fair way toward recovery, when, rashly venturing on his usual cold bath, he received his death-stroke. Döllinger had a great admiration for Newman, who was about a year his junior, but he thought him a rash controversialist, sometimes damaging his own cause more than his opponent's. I happened to be at Munich when a letter was published from Dr. Newman against Anglican Orders, the validity of which he impugned on *a priori* rather than on historical grounds; not because any historical flaw could be proved, but because God was not likely to commit the custody of His sacraments to such careless stewards as the Anglican clergy were alleged to be. "That argument," said Döllinger to me, "is more fatal to Newman's Roman Orders than to his Anglican, for nothing could exceed the confusion and carelessness in such matters which prevailed in Italy in mediæval times." And he proceeded to give a number of illustrations, adding: "The fact is, Newman's knowledge of the first four centuries of Christianity is unsurpassed; but there are few men of ability and learning so ignorant as he of the history of the Middle Ages, and that explains much." It is indeed curious how one-sided Newman's reading was—how much it was governed by his prepossessions. I remember asking his opinion some years ago on a pamphlet which argued that the Athanasian Creed was probably written by St. Augustine. He wrote back that he was not competent to give an opinion, as he was "not acquainted with St. Augustine." Of course, he must have meant that he had not made a study of St. Augustine. Yet it was a sentence from that great Father that shook Newman's faith in the English Church, and was the most potent cause of his conversion to the Church of Rome. The incident marks so characteristically the contrast between the cast of Newman's mind and Church's, that it is instructive to notice it. Cardinal Wiseman had written an arti-

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ele on the Donatist Schism, with an application to the English Church. Newman "read it, and did not see much in it." But one of his friends called his attention to St. Augustine's phrase, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*," quoted in the article. The friend "repeated those words again and again," says Newman; "and when he was gone they kept running in my ears. They were words which went beyond the occasion of the Donatists. . . . What a light was hereby thrown upon every controversy in the Church! . . . Who can account for the impressions which are made on him? For a mere sentence, the words of St. Augustine struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before. To take a familiar instance, they were like the 'Turn again, Whittington,' of the chime; or, to take a more serious one, they were like the 'Tolle, lege; tolle, lege,' of the child, which converted St. Augustine himself. '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*!' By those great words of the ancient Father, interpreting and summing-up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised." Truly an amazing proposition! St. Augustine was writing against a handful of Christians in Africa who had separated from and excommunicated the rest of Christendom because the Catholic Church continued to hold communion with men whom the Donatists accused of flagrant sin. It was a question of morals, not of faith, which was in dispute, and St. Augustine argued that Christendom at large (*orbis terrarum*) was a safe guide in such a matter, the *onus probandi* being on those who seceded from the ecclesiastical body and condemned it. That is true as a general principle; but St. Augustine did not even propound it as a general principle; the context restricts the phrase to the particular case of the Donatists. Yet in Newman's vivid imagination it suddenly assumed the portentous significance of a divine oracle proclaiming the infallibility of the Church of Rome.

The process of reasoning, the mental attitude toward great issues, revealed by this episode in Newman's religious development is quite foreign to the intellectual *ethos* of Dean Church. I cannot exhibit the difference better than by a quotation from the Dean's fine sermon on "Responsibility for our Belief":

"It is said, and rightly said, that we must follow truth wherever it leads us. Any one who believes in truth at all must say it. But I think that following truth is sometimes confounded with yielding to the immediate pressure of an argument—

which is a very different thing. For I am sure it cannot be too much remembered—what the history of every controversy shows; and every controversy and argument has a most curious history, full of strange turns and eventful surprises—that the form and pressure of an argument at any particular time has much in it of what we call accident. . . . Further, though argument is the natural means of getting at the verdict of reason, it is only a means and step, part of a process more complex and subtle than itself. For reason is wide and manifold, and waits its time; an argument is partial, one-sided, and often *then* most effective when least embarrassed by seeing too much; and one link left out, one fact overlooked, one step missed, may vitiate the most triumphant argument, as one element forgotten vitiates the whole of a long and intricate calculation. Again, the weight of an argument, like the significance of an event, is itself determined by many things without it. It will appear very different to the old and the young; to the happy and to the miserable. Very different to the same mind in the intoxication of success and popularity, or in the depression of failure and rebuke; in the whirl of society and the sunshine of an easy life, or on the bed of sickness, of hopelessness, of death; *before* and *after* travel, with its enlargement or its dissipation of mind; in the free air of the mountains and the sea, or within the bounds of a quiet and narrow study. Its force varies as a man is surrounded by those who take for granted one set of assumptions and conclusions, or by those who oppose them or are indifferent. . . . Let us believe what all experience shows, the large part which the qualities of our moral nature, its self-discipline and refinement, must have in all questions which touch what is moral and spiritual: how profoundly, how indirectly, intellectual work is influenced by modesty, reverence, honesty. Be patient, be just, be tolerant, be hopeful, be humble. In our greatest differences, and in proportion as our own convictions are deep, let us not be afraid to be equitable, considerate, generous. . . . And remember what an element *time* is in all growth; how much *time* alone does in making troubled questions run clear; how often what perplexes us to-day is all explained to-morrow; how what is tangled by dispute and confusion of thought may become unravelled by simply waiting. By simply waiting our horizon widens—widens almost without our knowing it. . . . Those who undertake to woo Truth by their own courage and venture, must not stumble at her conditions. They must not think it strange if for that Divine Bride they have to serve the seven years, and then the seven years more."

But what of those who have sought Truth loyally, yet have not found it when the end has come? Dean Church had no difficulty in facing that question. Be sincere with your intellect, he said. Play no tricks with it: "do not shrink from its full play, but be watchful over the heart and its temptations."

"I should be disloyal to Him, whom I believe in and worship as the Lord of truth, if I doubted that such seeking would at last find Him. Even if it do not find Him *here*, man's destiny stops not at the grave; and many, we may be sure, will know Him *there* who did not know Him *here*. Be the stages what they may, as rough, as strange, as pro-

longed as they often seem to be, true and earnest seeking cannot be in vain; they will lead the honest and good heart to the truth, and at last to the light it longs for."

I have quoted this long passage because it gives the key to Dean Church's character. Indomitable love of truth, sincerity, humility, equity, generosity, patience—these formed the ethical soil in which his mind was rooted. Consequently, he never lost his balance in any of the surging controversies of the last fifty years; while others, some of them men of great name, gave up hope and left the field—some for Rome, some for Agnosticism, some for weary Indifferentism. And even of those who remained, some, not excluding the most distinguished, were more than once frightened or hurried into rash courses. Dr. Pusey prevailed on the bulk of his party to join the *Record* and the Evangelical party in denunciation of "Essays and Reviews," and of the nomination of one of the Essayists (the present Bishop of London) to the See of Exeter. He afterwards hastened to denounce as heterodox the concordat on the *Filioque* agreed upon at the Bonn Conference in 1875 by a distinguished assembly of Old Catholics, Oriental, and Anglican divines (including Dr. Liddon). But in all the controversies of his time Church kept a clear, cool head, knowing "how much time alone does in making troubled questions run clear." And time has vindicated his wisdom. He felt the magic of Newman's personal influence; he admired and loved him; he more than any one else quashed by the Proctors' veto the University condemnation of Tract 90. Yet in the cataclysm of Newman's secession, which at the time seemed to shatter the High Church party, and which made even Pusey and Keble tremble for the issue, Church's faith and courage never wavered. Convinced of the truth of his position, he awaited the result with confidence. His attitude was equally brave and confident in the Gorham controversy, the "Essays and Reviews" controversy, the Ritualistic controversy, and the comparatively insignificant controversy about "Lux Mundi." In all these controversies he deprecated an appeal to law courts or popular passion, however much he may have disapproved of the conduct of those who had provoked the controversy. He believed that "Truth was greatest and would prevail" in the end—believed it so entirely that he was not afraid to let Truth enter the arena of public discussion and abide by the ordeal of fair combat; not immediately perhaps, but in the long run.

I have compared and contrasted in some respects Newman and Church, master and disciple, albeit a very independent disciple. It was my privilege—and a great privilege and pleasure it was—to enjoy Cardinal Newman's friendship for the last five-and-twenty years of his life. He wrote to me with great frankness and freedom on questions of the day, and I subjoin a quotation from one of his letters which illustrates my theme, and is exceedingly interesting in itself. I shall quote nothing to which either he or any friend of his could object. A rumour had reached me that he was engaged on a book on the mutual relations of Faith and Reason, in connection with "Essays and Reviews," and having had occasion to write to him on another subject, I took the opportunity of referring to this rumour. He said in reply:

"I assure you I look with the most anxious interest at the state of Oxford, the more so because I anticipated its present perplexities; and it was one of my sorest trials in leaving it, that I was undoing my own work and leaving the field open, or rather infallibly surrendering it, to those who would break down and crumble to powder all religion whatever. As to the authors of 'Essays and Reviews,' some of them at least, I am sure, know not what they do. One of them I may still call my friend, and for two others, though I do not know them, I feel great respect. These, I trust, are urged by a sincere feeling that it is not right to keep up shams. Yet did they really see the termination, or rather the abyss, to which these speculations lead, surely they would see that, before attempting to sift facts, they ought to make sure that they have a firm hold of true and eternal principles. To unsettle the minds of a generation when you give them no landmarks and no causeway across the morass is to undertake a great responsibility.

"The religion of England depends, humanly speaking, on belief in the Bible, the whole Bible, etc., and on the observance of the Calvinistic Sabbath. Let the population begin to doubt in its inspiration and infallibility—where are we? Alas! whole classes do already; but I would not be the man knowingly to introduce scepticism into those portions of the community which are as yet sound. Consider the misery of wives and mothers losing their faith in Scripture; yet I am told this sad process is commencing.

"What I have said is not a gratuitous intrusion of my own thoughts upon you, but is virtually an answer to your question about myself. The volume in question, I know, is levelled at Revelation as a whole, but is especially a blow at the Old Testament. Now the plenary inspiration of Scripture is peculiarly a Protestant question; not a Catholic. We, indeed, devoutly receive the whole Bible as the word of God; but we receive it on the authority of the Church, and the Church has defined very little as to the aspects under which it comes from God, and the limits of its inspiration. Supposing, for argument sake, that it could be proved that some passage in the Pentateuch about Egyptian history were erroneous; nay, let the universality of the deluge over the globe, or the literal interpretation of Genesis, be, for argument sake, disproved, it would not affect a Catholic, for two reasons:—1. Because the Church has not made

them points *de fide*; and 2, because not the Bible, but the Church, is to him the oracle of Revelation; so that, though the whole Scripture were miraculously removed from the world as if it had never been, evil and miserable as would be the absence of such a privilege, he would still have enough motives and objects for his faith. Whereas to the Protestant the question of Scripture is one of life and death.

"You see then, much as I grieve at what is taking place, I feel no call on me to interpose in the controversy. And the more because *we* shall have a controversy of our own—viz., with Atheism. My own belief is that, if there be a God, Catholicism is true; but this is the elementary, august, and sovereign truth, the denial of which is in progress. May He Himself give grace to those who shall be alive on that terrible day to fight His battle well."

In reply I said, *inter alia*, that I did not think the religion of England did depend on "the observance of the Calvinistic Sabbath," and on the popular view of "the plenary inspiration of Scripture;" that I saw no sign of the decay of Christianity; that since he had left her, the progress of the Church of England had been forward, not backward—so much so, that the battle which he had thought lost when he left us had been practically won. How could he account for that fact, if the Church of England was no part of the body of Christ, and the Spirit of God was not energising within her? One sentence from his long answer will suffice for my purpose here. "As to your question about the growth of Church principles in the Anglican Church, I rejoice in the *fact*; but as to the *why*, there is another hypothesis besides that of serving as a note to the Apostolicity of Anglicanism; it may be to prepare for a large addition of members to the Roman Catholic Church."

I saw him the year after the Vatican Council, and he asked me whether I thought that one of the effects of the Vatican decrees would be to prevent conversions from the Church of England. I answered in the affirmative. "That is my own opinion," he said. I reminded him of his suggested explanation of the growth of Church principles in the English Church since his secession. He shook his head sadly, and said: "The ways of God are inscrutable."

The fact is, Newman's strong feelings and fervid imagination tended to make him see facts and their correlations, not as they were, but as he desired them to be. He first made up his mind; and then, with perfect sincerity, singleness of purpose, and consummate controversial skill, he accommodated the facts to his theory. He has confessed this himself in his description of his position as an Anglican. "I was angry with the Anglican divines," he says. "I

thought they had taken me in; I had read the Fathers with their eyes; I had sometimes trusted their quotations or their reasonings; and from reliance on them, I had used words or made statements which by right I ought rigidly to have examined myself. I had thought myself safe while I had their warrant for what I said. I had exercised more faith than criticism in the matter. I was in a humour certainly to bite off their ears." Writing to Keble in 1840, while still Vicar of St. Mary's, he said: "I do not think that we have yet made fair trial how much the English Church will bear: I know it is a hazardous experiment—like proving cannon. Yet we must not take it for granted that the metal will burst in the operation. It has borne, at various times, not to say at this time, a great infusion of Catholic truth without damage." "The arguments which I have published against Romanism seem to myself as cogent as ever; but men go by their sympathies, not by argument;" and he "feels the force of this influence himself." St. Augustine's "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*" was still ringing in his ears; and as, under its influence, he felt the *Via Media* theory, which he had built without due examination on the Anglican divines, quaking under his feet, he set himself to construct another theory that would enable him to get round the "arguments against Romanism," which were still "as cogent as ever" to his intellect, by reconciling history to his "sympathies." This was the theory of Development—a theory to which, as expounded by Newman, the Church of Rome refused to commit herself, and he was advised to publish his book before he was received into her communion. There is, of course, a legitimate theory of the development of Christian doctrine, when the development follows by logical necessity from what went before it. The Nicene Creed is thus logically contained in the Apostles' Creed, and was therefore no addition to the faith of Christendom. But Newman's premises carry him beyond this point. His argument makes it impossible to set any definite limits to the enlargement of the Christian Creed.

Here then we have a temper of mind as earnest, indeed, as Dean Church's in the painful quest of truth, but lacking the Dean's humility, caution, patience, and intellectual conscientiousness. Newman, attracted by his sympathies, jumped to his conclusion, and then sought for arguments with which to justify the process to his own understanding. This was, in effect, to

adopt the Catholic faith on rationalistic grounds, and to undermine the foundation of Christianity as an historical religion. Dean Church, on the other hand, combined in a rare degree the historical and critical faculties. His *Essay on Dante* alone stamps him as one of the first critics of any age; and his volumes on Anselm, Bacon, and "The Beginnings of the Middle Ages," his singularly brilliant and comprehensive sketch of "The Early Ottomans," must make every one who has read them sigh that a mind so powerful, so discriminating, so amply furnished with knowledge, and in command of a style at once so dignified and attractive, did not find time to leave behind him some monumental work on history, in addition to the fragmentary monographs which show how well equipped he was for the task. It was therefore impossible for Dean Church, with his historical instinct and discipline and knowledge, to accept any view of the Church which he could not reconcile with the facts of history. And those facts taught him not to be dismayed or discouraged by the seeming failure of good causes, by the triumph of wicked men, by worldliness and corruption in the high places of the Church. The history of the Church had all along been fulfilling the parable of the drag-net which enclosed good and bad fish alike. The chequered career of the noble Anselm was but a picture of the Church at large in miniature. Her progress is not in a straight line, but zigzag, turning her back sometimes, like the Alpine climber, on the point for which she is making, yet in fact progressing steadily, in spite of appearances, towards her destined goal. "It was her own fault," the Dean tells us, "if the Church gained little by the compromise" extorted from the King by Anselm, and here is the lesson which he finds in the story of the long struggle:

"In one sense, indeed, what is gained by any great religious movement? What are all reforms, restorations, victories of truth, but protests of a minority; efforts, clogged and incomplete, of the good and brave, just enough in their own day to stop instant ruin—the appointed means to save what is to be saved, but in themselves failures? Good men work and suffer, and bad men enjoy their labours and spoil them; a step is made in advance—evil rolled back and kept in check for a while, only to return perhaps the stronger. But thus, and thus only, is truth passed on and the world preserved from utter corruption. Doubtless bad men still continued powerful in the English Church. Henry tyrannised, evil was done, and the bishops kept silence; low aims and corruptions may still have polluted the very seats of justice; gold may have been as powerful with Cardinals as with King Henry and his Chancellors."

Yet, on the whole, the victory was with

Anselm, and so the cause of truth and justice moved on, though slowly, and the good fight has been maintained along the centuries, and will be maintained "till He shall come, to whom alone it is reserved to 'still' forever 'the enemy and the avenger,' and to 'root out all wicked doers from the city of the Lord.'"

It is plain that Dean Church was not the type of English churchman from which converts are made. He saw nothing in the history of the Church of England since the Reformation which had not its analogue in her previous history and in the history of other parts of Christendom at different times. He knew history too well to be carried away by a specious theory, however brilliant, or cast down by a reverse, however formidable at the moment. Had he meditated a step like Newman's, and then felt as Newman did on the eve of his secession, that he would thereby be "undoing his own work"—admittedly a good work—and leaving the field open, or rather infallibly surrendering it to those who would break down and crumble to powder all religion whatever, he would at once have suspected a flaw in the reasoning which had conducted him to so disastrous a conclusion, and would have remembered St. Paul's warning that it is not right to "do evil that good may come," especially when the evil is certain to affect multitudes, while the good is problematical and reaches to oneself alone.\*

To say that Church made an ideal Dean is, in his case, a commonplace. It is not too much to say that he would have dignified and adorned and elevated to an ideal standard any office committed to his charge, from the small village in Somersetshire, where he spent the happiest years of his life, and where his body by his own desire rests, to the Primacy of the English Church, of which he had, or might have had, the refusal. He gave one the impression, more than any man I have ever known, of saintliness, of a life detached from this world and having its roots in the unseen. To him it was an intense reality, not a mere phrase, that "the things which are seen are temporal, and the things which are not seen are eternal." You felt that he judged human conduct in everything by the test of how it would look when death approached. Worldly honours had thus no attraction for him, and he shrank from them, not so much because he feared their alluring temptation, as because his genuine humility made him

\* "I will never do what I know to be evil, and shrink in fear from what, for aught I can tell, may be good."—*Apology of Socrates*, xvii. 29.



self-distrustful. It was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Gladstone at last, aided by the entreaties of others, prevailed on Church to exchange his village home for the deanery of St. Paul's. To him the promotion was a sorrow and a sore trial, and he never ceased to pine for the sweet seclusion, in the midst of rural sights and sounds, where he had disciplined his soul by diversified study and meditation and writing, and, not least, by self-denying labours among the poor of his little flock, after the din and turmoil of Oxford controversy, and the great sorrow of Newman's secession. He seriously wished more than once to resign his deanery, not merely because he sighed for the country, but because he, the ideal Dean, believed himself unfitted for the post. And there came another motive later. He was very anxious to see Dr. Liddon removed from Oxford, both because he saw that Oxford was depressing him unduly, and also because he felt that a man of Liddon's power and unique position should, for the Church's sake and his own, be placed in a position of responsibility. When it became evident, therefore, that Dr. Liddon was not to be a bishop, Dean Church was desirous of making way for him in the deanery of St. Paul's—a sacrifice which friends prevented, and to which Dr. Liddon himself would have been the very last to consent. As some legends have grown round Dr. Liddon's name in connection with bishoprics, there can be no harm now in giving the facts. There is no truth in the rumour that the Queen ever vetoed his nomination to the episcopate. No offer of a particular See was made to him till the year of his death, when he was offered the See of St. Albans. Some years previously, when two Sees happened to be vacant, the Prime Minister of the day begged the Dean of St. Paul's to find out privately whether Liddon would permit his name to be submitted to the Queen. Liddon at once refused, and even declined to take such an offer into his serious consideration. Whether he would have made the same answer had a particular See been offered to him I know not; but I am sure that he would always have refused an offer in the air. I remember his answer to myself when I left Dean Church and himself to decide for me in an offer of preferment which I had refused and been asked to reconsider. "You must remember," he said, "that when a definite offer is made to you it is a distinct call, and that there is therefore as much responsibility in refusing as in accepting it."

But it was not from moroseness, or fret-

fulness, or misanthropy, or disappointment, that Dean Church turned his back on the transitory attractions of this world. No man delighted more than he in the innocent enjoyments and amusements of life; no laugh was merrier than his; no eye delighted more in the varied and manifold beauties of Nature, as his writings abundantly show; no one engaged with keener zest and joy in the intellectual interchange and play of good conversation. In his admirable sermons on the "Gifts of Civilisation," he admits that the Church and Civilisation may stand apart as antagonistic forces, but argues that this need not and should not be. He shows how "great moral habits strike their roots deep in a society" even external to the Church.

"Civilisation has many shapes and means many things. But let us speak fairly, as we know it. Civilisation to us means liberty and the power of bearing and using liberty; it means that which ensures to us a peaceful life, a life of our own, fenced in from wrong, and with our paths and ends left free to us; it means the strength of social countenance given on the whole to those virtues which make life nobler and easier; it means growing honor for manliness, unselfishness, sincerity—growing value for gentleness, consideration, and respect for others; it means readiness to bear criticism, to listen to correction, to see and amend our mistakes; it means the willingness, the passion, to ameliorate conditions, to communicate advantages, to raise the weak and low, to open wide the gates and paths for them to that discipline of cultivation and improvement which has produced such fruit in others more fortunate than they."

In his Lectures (in the same volume) on the great religions of the East, the Dean admits that the high state of human nature, here described, owes much to the overshadowing of the Christian atmosphere which surrounds it, and cannot exist except sporadically, and on a comparatively small scale, outside the frontiers of Christendom. But something is still lacking to it.

"The heroic mind and the Christian mind are shown not simply in the loss of all things—in giving up this world, in accepting pain and want—but in doing this, if it must be done, for that for which it is worth a man's while to do it; for something of corresponding greatness, though unseen; for truth, for faith, for duty, for the good of others, for a higher life. And this view the words of the New Testament keep continually before us."

It was this life, inculcated and described in the New Testament, that the Dean made the standard of his own life and strove to impress on others. For, highly as he appreciated the gifts of civilisation in all their attractive forms, he saw the peril which lurked in that fascination:

"We trust that the Christian spirit can live and flourish in society as we know it, different as it is from the first days. But it is clear that as society

goes on accumulating powers and gifts, the one hope of society is in men's modest and unselfish use of them; in simplicity and nobleness of spirit increasing, as things impossible to our fathers become easy and familiar to us; in men caring for better things than money and ease, and honour; in being able to see the riches of the world [he meant more than gold] increase, and not set our heart's heart upon them; in being able to admire and forego."

Such was his ideal of the Christian life; "using this world as not abusing it." And few men lived up to the ideal as he did. And modest and humble and retiring as he was, his example told; virtue went out of him, and the contagion spread silently, and multitudes felt better for the presence of that spare ascetic figure among them. And they came, a great crowd on a most inclement day, to testify their appreciation and gratitude at his funeral service in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was like him not only to wish to be buried among his old parishioners in the secluded Somersetshire village, but to forbid any kind of memorial to be raised in his honour. He has left behind him, though he thought not of that, a more enduring memorial than marble: feeble knees strengthened, wills braced up to resist temptation, lives purified and blessed by his example. And he has also left behind him another memorial in the transfigured character of the worship and crowded congregations of St. Paul's. He would be the first to disclaim all credit for that transformation; and, indeed, it would be unjust to deny to his colleagues their share in the wonderful improvement. Canons Gregory and Liddon began it before Dean Church's appointment; but they were a minority in the chapter, and without the Dean, moreover, not much could be done; and Dean Mansel's tastes lay in other fields of speculation. On Dean Church's advent things began rapidly to change. Under the old *regime* the Sunday congregation had room enough and to spare in the choir. Soon the space beneath the dome did not suffice to hold the crowds that went to the Cathedral, and when Dr. Liddon preached they extended to the west door. And now the ordinary daily congregation is larger than that which used to assemble on Sunday in the choir. Nor was the influence of the Cathedral confined to London. It spread all over England, and reached even to America and the British colonies, raising the standard of worship among them all. And he who knew least of the source of this great work was the humble scholar and divine at the head of the institution from which it all radiated. It is to be hoped that a successor will

be appointed who will carry on the traditions of St. Paul's during the last twenty years.

Let it not be supposed from anything said here about Dean Church's gentleness, humility, and self-effacement, that he was a weak man. He was, indeed, wonderfully tender and affectionate, though he kept his feelings under a disciplined restraint; but he was also not only habitually brave—he could be very stern when the occasion required it. Cruelty, injustice, falseness, always roused his indignation. He had imbibed an ardent love of liberty from his early Italian associations and studies, and from his family connection with Greece;—his uncle, Sir Richard Church, was one of the leaders and heroes of the Greek war of independence. He sympathised with every movement for the liberation and unity of Italy, and for the emancipation of the races still held in Turkish bondage. During the progress of the Eastern struggle in 1877, he wrote in the *Guardian* a series of interesting and instructive articles on the history of the Turks. The Crimean war had previously tempted him to write the most picturesque and most masterly sketch on record—at least within the same compass—of "The Early Ottomans." The same occasion induced Dr. Newman (as he then was) to write his "Lectures on the History of the Turks," where his beautiful style and brilliant powers of generalisation are displayed to advantage.

I may appropriately close this hurried and imperfect sketch with the following quotation from Dean Church's Essay on "The Early Ottomans" as a specimen of his historical style:

"For twenty years Orchan abstained from conquest, but he was not idle. While the Christian empire beyond the Straits was perishing, he was busy building up a power which was to be ready to take its place, and fit to grasp its heritage. The pastoral horde was becoming a State; the leader of the vagrant camp was taking delight in adorning the temporary capital of his house with the mosques and colleges, the hospitals and caravansaries, the fountains and tombs, which the piety and magnificence of Moslem princes are wont to rear in their royal cities. Brusa was well worth his care. From the last slopes of Olympus it looks over a green plain of woods and meadows; the famous and beautiful mountain, with its forest and its cliffs, overhangs it, and its abundant and ever-flowing waters—the warm, medicinal springs which well out beneath the baths of the city, and the cold, sparkling sources streaming down from above, among its rocks and its plane-trees—have made Brusa famous among Eastern cities. Not less famous is it for the choice excellence of its trees and fruits, its grapes and apricots, its chestnuts, each of forty drachms weight, and its forty kinds of pears. The sheep in its pastures produced the

finest wool, its mulberry-trees the finest silk, and drew to it craftsmen, who made the work of their looms, their scarfs, and embroidered stuffs, their lawn, and their samit, renowned almost to our own day. Before the Ottomans appeared, Christian monasteries had gleamed among the woods of Olympus, or nestled in its folds; the hermit's cell had been hung on its precipices, or perched upon its crests, or hid within its caverns. Their place was taken by the dervishes and the santons, on whom Orchan bestowed his largesses with liberal hand; and Olympus became a holy mountain, sanctified by their retreats while living, and by their sepulchres in death. Among them, also, were the earlier poets and theologians of the Ottomans, who loved the stillness and the shade of the murmuring pines. There they could lie and look down on the glittering city and sunny plain below. The city of Orchan's choice had all that could make it dear to Moslems and Orientals; it was a worthy home for the last conquerors of Islam to depart from, and return to, in their wars, and to rest in during the days of peace. Here the first six sultans kept their court, and here they lie buried in stately tombs near the mosques which they founded. Round them are the sepulchres of their children and brothers; and these are encompassed on all sides by the resting-places and memorials of the great men of the rising State, its first viziers and lieutenants; and further, about the mausoleums of the early sultans and saints of the Empire are grouped some five hundred tombs of famous men—pashas, scheikhs, professors, orators, physicians, poets, musicians. Thus gifted and adorned by Nature, and consecrated by so many recollections and such venerable monuments, Brusa rivals Adrianople in dignity and Bagdad in holiness, and still, when the sultan's style and title is proclaimed, it is named as the third city of his Empire."

## THE LATE DEAN CHURCH.

BY THE REV. JULIUS H. WARD.

From *The Christian Union*, New York, January 1, 1891.

THE Very Rev. R. W. Church was born in 1815, and was a little over seventy-five years of age at his death. He had been the Dean of St. Paul's since 1871, receiving the appointment to that unique and influential position after the death of Dean Mansel, who received his appointment on the death of Dean Milman. He had been the rector of Whatley parish for a much longer time, and in his earlier life had been one of the younger Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, at the time when John Henry Newman was in the height of his fame and influence as a leader in the Oxford Movement, which was intended to revive the Catholic life of the Church of England, and to restore the Catholic spirit and ritual which had been lost during the stormy periods that had intervened since the English Reformation was begun. He was one of the young men in 1840 whom Newman profoundly influenced,

but was too thoroughly identified with the Church of England to follow Newman to Rome. He was never a controversialist, and when Newman left Oxford he had no part in the infuriated persecution which led to the condemnation of Tract 90 and indicated to its author that there was no further place for him in the Anglican Church. So close was the intimacy between him and Dr. Newman that the changes of the latter did not break a friendship which was maintained with the greatest heartiness and freedom down to the death of the Cardinal, and which led him, as often as he visited London, to be the guest of Dr. Church at St. Paul's Deanery rather than accept the hospitality offered to him at the palace of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. When the correspondence between the Cardinal and Dean Church shall be published, it is likely to reveal much that is beautiful and noble in the lives of both, and it is no secret to say that the friendship between these two men was on a plane of spiritual communion which was entirely above the questions or points at issue between the Roman and the Anglican Churches. Cardinal Newman maintained a great many of his Anglican friendships unbroken after he had changed his faith, and it is understood that his relations with Dean Church were more intimate than those with almost any other of his Anglican friends.

St. Paul's Cathedral, London, has always had the choicest and in some respects the most representative men among the English clergy as its deans, but the last three incumbents have been men fit to rank with the very foremost of their predecessors. Dean Milman, the author of "Latin Christianity," was the rival of Lord Macaulay in point of learning, and was one of the greatest scholars of his time, never taking up any subject which he did not illustrate or adorn, and handling a work like Newman's treatise on "The Development of Christian Doctrine" as readily as he wrote a paper on "Savonarola" or "Erasmus." Dean Mansel was the author of the Bampton Lectures for 1858, on "The Limits of Religious Thought," from which Mr. Herbert Spencer derived his philosophy of the Unknowable, and was one of the greatest wits and clearest thinkers of his time. He was five years the junior of Dean Church, and maintained the prestige of St. Paul's on the lines which Dean Milman had laid down. With the appointment of Dr. Church to this commanding position there came a change. It was at this time that a great stir had been made in England over the condition of the old ca-

thedrals, and Dean Church, who had been the exponent with Dr. Pusey and the late Canon Liddon of what was best in the Oxford Movement, determined to revive St. Paul's and make it, so far as possible, as a center of spiritual activity, what the late Dean Stanley had begun to make Westminster Abbey as the center of the historical life of the English Church and nation. He succeeded in this enterprise. St. Paul's became under his direction a great and abiding influence in the heart of London, appealing through its increased services and organized work to great numbers of people in the heart of a city, and reaching through its great preachers, like Canon Liddon and Canon Scott Holland, thousands of people who had never thought of attending St. Paul's at any time before he became its Dean. The strongest and ablest preachers in England were constantly invited to the Cathedral pulpit, and its magnificent services and strong preaching have done more to revive the use of the English cathedrals than any other single agency. Canon Liddon felt that his best work was done in the pulpit of St. Paul's, and Dean Church was the moving impulse and controlling influence in all this progress and development. It was a silent, quiet, but effective renewal of many of the Cathedral ministrations which were within the reach of these central churches in the days before the Reformation; but Dean Church was not a mediævalist, and his object was rather to increase the efficiency of St. Paul's as a great modern church of the people than to restore the spiritual pageantry of a bygone age.

Dean Church was not a preacher in the sense that Canon Liddon was, but his sermons will be read as classics in English literature when Canon Liddon's are forgotten. They rank with those of Cardinal Newman in point of style, and are remarkable for the combination of culture with spiritual insight. They are no more, seemingly, great sermons than are those of Cardinal Newman, but the reader of them is surprised, as he is in Cardinal Newman's, by the visions of truth and the new relations in which truth stands to life that are flashed upon him in these unassuming discourses. The author seems to have seen things from the center, and the comprehensiveness of his ethical and spiritual views is a constant surprise. He is great in his thought, in the flashes of light that he throws upon dark things, in the way in which he sees truth as a whole, and in his mastery of a style which the simplest can understand, and which opens the way to truths which the most pro-

found cannot fully exhaust. His sermons are everywhere quoted by the brightest and most thoughtful writers of the day, and his lecture-sermons, which grew out of his partly secular work at St. Paul's, and discussed sacred poetry and the relation of Christianity to races, are among the finest examples in our literature of the true way in which to trace the religious movement of mankind. He was always the master of the subjects which he treated. In 1850 he contributed to the *Christian Remembrancer* a critical article more than a hundred pages in length, which has held its own, amid all that has been written during the last forty years, as the most appreciative and comprehensive introduction to Dante and his work that has ever been written in English. This essay has gone through many editions, and his other occasional essays have had almost a similar popularity. An essay on Wordsworth stands in merit beside the late Matthew Arnold's study of that poet, and his papers on Browning's "Sordello" and the celebrated essay on "Montaigne" are masterpieces in literary discrimination. He was equally strong in a masterly essay on "Church and State," published in 1850, and republished in 1881. Three prose monographs indicate what he could do in the field of history and critical biography. His "Saint Anselm" is the best work on that spiritual leader of the eleventh century, and his monographs on "Bacon" and "Spenser" are masterly studies of their kind. He had the ability to speak the right word on every subject to which he gave his thought, and his writings, though not large in bulk, have by general consent already been accepted as a permanent part of English literature. His monograph on "Bacon" is regarded as the fairest and most reasonable estimate of the father of the inductive philosophy, and his essay on "Richard Hooker," which is published as an introduction to the study of his "Ecclesiastical Polity," is a remarkable presentation of the claims of Hooker upon the literary student of to-day. He had a genius for the finest literary work, and his mind was continually in sympathy with the writings of the great masters of the imagination. It is said that when Mr. Gladstone had the naming of the next Archbishop of Canterbury, he inquired of the Dean of St. Paul's what his answer would be if the "primal sec" were offered to him. Dr. Church immediately replied, "I should decline it." This indicates what Mr. Gladstone's opinion was of Dean Church as a leader in ecclesiastical affairs. It is said that he was one of



the frequent editorial writers in the *Guardian*, which is the principal organ of the Church of England, and it is doubted if there was any other clergyman in England during the last forty years of his life who figured so little in public affairs and yet exerted so great an influence through his control of the springs of power. It is difficult, in our distance from him, to understand the weight which he carried in ecclesiastical directions. He was one of the most modest and unassuming men to be found in England, never physically strong, not a man of distinguished presence, but one whose life corresponded with his thinking, and whose writings are the mirror in which we see into his inmost thought. He was one of the quietest and humblest among the really great men of the English Church during the last half-century, and was the best exponent in literature of the Catholic spirit in the Oxford Movement, a volume of reminiscences on which was the last work which he had in hand, and which is supposed to have been finished only a few days before his lamented death.

#### ZÖCKLER'S STATISTICS OF CHRISTIANITY.

From *The Independent*, New York, January 8, 1891.

IN Zöckler's "*Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*," Vol. III., the editor has published what is evidently the result of a careful collection of statistics and data from all the ends and corners of Christianity. As he has drawn, in not a few cases, from sources not accessible to American Church statisticians, a brief *résumé* of his figures will not be unacceptable. He has four tables, one of Church statistics according to nations; a second of the growth of Protestantism as compared with that of Roman Catholicism; a third on Church governments and the clergy; a fourth on the Confessional statistics of Europe and America.

Of Orthodox or Eastern Christians there are 87,000,000, of whom 76,000,000 are regular adherents in Russia, Greece, the Balkan countries and Turkey, and 11,000,000 are Russian sects. The total number of adherents of Oriental churches is 4,200,000—namely, Nestorians, 400,000; Armenians, 2,300,000; Jacobites, 1,500,000. There are 205,000,000 Roman Catholics, 4,480,000 Orthodox Greeks connected with Rome, with 520,000 Maronites, Thomas Christians and others. The total number of Orientals is thus nearly 92,000,000, of Roman Catho-

lics 210,000,000, while Protestants number 150,000,000. Of the last mentioned 47,000,000 are Lutherans, 25,500,000 Presbyterians and Independents (Congregationalists), 24,000,000 Episcopalians, 33,625,000 Methodists, Baptists and smaller denominations. The total number of Christians is 452,000,000.

The growth of the Churches is encouraging to Protestants. In 1786 the number of Protestants in Europe was 37,000,000; of Roman Catholics, 80,000,000; of the Greek Church, 40,000,000. In 1886 the number of Protestants was 85,000,000, of Roman Catholics, 154,000,000, of the Greeks, 83,000,000, showing a Protestant increase in this century of 230 per cent, a Roman Catholic of 192 and Greek of 207. In 1786 the number of Protestants in North America was computed at 2,700,000; of Roman Catholics at 190,000. One hundred years later the former numbered 47,000,000, the latter about 19,930,000, an increase of 1,741 per cent in the former case, of 1,049 in the latter. Missionary statistics show similar facts. In 1790 the total number of Roman Catholic converts from heathendom was computed at 1,325,000; of Protestants, 30,000. Now the former number 2,426,000, the latter 915,000; the former have thus scarcely doubled their successes, the latter report twenty times the number of their converts a century ago.

The government of the Orthodox Church is divided according to countries. In the Turkish Empire there are 4 patriarchates—namely, that of Constantinople with 80 subordinate archbishoprics and bishoprics; Antiochia, with 15; Jerusalem, with 8; and Alexandria with 1. In Hellas there are 11 archbishops and 13 bishops. In Roumania, Bulgaria and Servia there are 4 metropolitan bishops. In the Russian Empire there are 58 exarchies under control of the Holy Synod. The secular clergy number about 100,000, the monks 10,512, the nuns 14,574. The total number of higher dignitaries in the regular Oriental Church is thus 190. The Nestorians have 2 patriarchs with many subordinate metropolitan bishops and others. The Thomas Christians have only priests. Of the Monophysites, the Armenians (*i. e.*, the non-United) have 1 catholicoi and more than 100 bishops (the United Armenians having 2 patriarchs); the Syrian Jacobites, 1 patriarch, 1 primos and 12 bishops; the Coptic Church has 1 patriarch and 12 bishops in Egypt and 1 abuna, 1 prior and 7 bishops in Abyssinia. The Maronites, nominally connected with Rome, have 8 regular bishops and a number *in partibus*.

The Roman Catholics have 72 cardinals, 74 patriarchs, 161 archbishops of the Latin rite, and 22 of the Oriental, making a total of 183. Of the bishoprics of the Latin rite, 86 are called "exempt"—i. e., are directly controlled by the Pope; 595 are suffragans, and 56 are of the Oriental rite, making a total of 737. There are 18 higher prelates without dioceses, making the total membership of the hierarchy 1084. In addition to these there are 7 apostolic delegations, 108 apostolic vicariates, 35 apostolic prefectures—these three being mission offices—the sum of all hierarchical titles being thus 1234. In the Established Church of England the number of hierarchical offices is 124; in the United States the Episcopal Church numbers 69 bishops. The Lutheran Church has a hierarchical form of government only in the Scandinavian lands. Sweden has 1 archbishop and 11 bishops; Norway has 6 bishops; Denmark, including Iceland, 8, and Finland 1 archbishop and 2 bishops. In Germany the Lutheran Churches are governed by consistory, there being one for every country or province, thus making about fifty in all. In France, Hungary, Austria, Holland and elsewhere a similar organization exists. In North America and Austria synods have been organized and the congregational system prevails, the synods having no legislative or judicial, but only advisory powers.

### THE IMPERIAL DIET OF JAPAN.

BY WILLIAM IMBRIE, D.D.

From *The Interior* (Presbyterian), December 25, 1890.

"IN accordance with Acts 7 and 14 of the Constitution, the members of the Imperial Diet are hereby convoked to meet in Tokyo on the 25th of November next."

This decree, signed by the Emperor and countersigned by the ten Ministers of State, was issued on the 9th of October. At the time appointed the two Houses of the Diet assembled. The streets in the neighborhood were filled with a large but undemonstrative crowd. The weather was charming—the perfection of autumn. The business transacted by the House of Peers was of little interest. The event of the day was the nomination to the Emperor by the House of Representatives of candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President. After a session of more than twelve hours, this was accomplished; and on the day following the Emperor appointed the nominees

who had received the highest number of votes. These were Messrs. Nakashima and Tsuda. It is a fact worthy of note that the President, Mr. Nakashima, is a Christian. For a number of years he has been a member of the United Church.

The formal opening of the Diet by the Emperor did not take place until the 29th. At precisely 10.30 in the morning, the procession started from the palace to the Houses of Parliament. Five thousand troops were under arms, drawn up along the route. The escort was a detachment of the Imperial Guard. At the head of the procession, with only a company of lancers in advance, came members of the Imperial family. In the rear followed high officials and grand dignitaries of the Empire. In the center rode the Emperor in the phoenix carriage of State, attended by footmen gorgeous in gold lace. The procession moved slowly. The crowd back of the lines of troops was a dense mass. From time to time a cheer broke forth. But the Japanese cheer is feeble. The ringing shout of an English crowd is a thing of the future.

The Emperor reached the House of Peers at 11 o'clock. At 11.15 the Peers entered the assembly hall, arrayed for the most part in blue and gold. These were followed by the members of the House of Representatives, with two exceptions, in somber citizen's dress. Next entered the Ministers of State, who took their places below the throne. Then came the Emperor and the Imperial train. In the presence of the Emperor, Peers and Representatives bowed low. Count Yamagata, Minister President of State, presented to his Majesty a scroll on which was written the Imperial message. The Emperor received it and read it aloud in a clear voice:

"We announce to the members of the House of Peers and to those of the House of Representatives: That all institutions relating to internal administration, established during the period of twenty years since our accession to the throne, have been brought to a state approaching completeness and regular arrangement. By the efficacy of the virtues of our ancestors, and in concert with yourselves, we hope to continue and extend those measures, to reap good fruits from the working of the constitution, and thereby to manifest both at home and abroad the glory of our country and the loyal and enterprising character of our people. We have always cherished a resolve to maintain friendly relations with other countries, to develop commerce, and to extend the prestige of our land. Happily our relations with

all the treaty powers are on a footing of constantly growing amity and intimacy. In order to preserve tranquillity at home and security from abroad, it is essential that the completion of our naval and military defences should be made an object of gradual attainment. We shall direct our Ministers of State to submit to the Diet the budget for the twenty-fourth year of Meiji, and certain projects of laws. We expect that you will deliberate and advise upon them with impartiality and discretion; and we trust that you will establish such precedents as may serve for future guidance."

Having read his message, the Emperor handed it to the Count Ito, President of the House of Peers. He then withdrew and returned to the palace. By common consent the whole ceremony was performed with a propriety and a dignity becoming the occasion.

At this time, when the ship of State is slowly going about and her sails are just beginning to fill for a new course through calm and storm, one can hardly suppress a word concerning the winds and the currents that have borne her thus far on her way. What are the chief forces that have co-operated in the evolution of the Imperial Diet of Japan? I recently put this question to an exceptionally well informed and most thoughtful Japanese friend. His reply was in substance as follows:

The first thing never to be forgotten is the example of England and America. The impression made by those countries upon the Japanese who visited them during the years following the opening of Japan was most profound. This personal observation was followed by a wide dissemination of foreign literature and foreign ideas. The man above others to whom this was due is Fukuzawa. He established his celebrated school in Tokyo. He issued pamphlet after pamphlet. The first sentence in one of these well sets forth the doctrine which he preached: "Heaven never made man above man: all men are equal." By him more than by any other were the people first made familiar with the idea of constitutional government.

A second force to be remembered is that of the company of men commonly described as the Liberals. Chief among these must be named Itagaki. Itagaki lacks the constructive power essential to a statesman, but it is impossible to deny that his influence and work have been very great. He was one of the seven who signed the original memorial to the Emperor, praying for the establishment of a Diet. It was he who

adopted the method of popular agitation. In a vague way the government talked of a Diet at some time in the future, but it did nothing whatever to prepare the way for it. Its policy was always restrictive and oppressive. Its schoolmaster was Bismarck. Itagaki, on the other hand, gave himself to the cause. He went hither and thither, endeavoring to inspire the people with the spirit of liberty. He did everything in his power, until he was compelled to silence by the stringent laws of the Government regarding the press and public assemblies. To him especially was due the organization of the old Liberal Party; and no one may claim a greater share in the pressure of public opinion, which finally led the Emperor to promise a constitutional government in 1890. It is said that his first thought was to employ the doctrine of liberty as a lever to overturn the Sat-Cho combination. That may be true. But it is likewise undeniable that at a very early period he was inspired with a sincere and deep love of liberty for her own sake. The words which he uttered as he fell almost fatally wounded by the sword of an assassin,

"You may kill me, but you cannot kill liberty"—words since echoed over Japan—are a fair expression of his ruling passion.

An intelligent student of Japanese history will not omit mention of a third force. In old times the Emperor was everything. The first step was the extension of power to an aristocracy—the family of Fujiwara. Then came the feudal system—the times of the Daimyos. Now there is a still wider extension of power—all those possessed of a certain amount of property are granted a voice in the administration of affairs. Any account of the evolution of the Diet that fails to notice this tendency is only superficial. It sees the winds and the waves, but is blind to the tide. There is a tide in history as truly as there is a tide in the ocean. Both alike are silent; are caused alike by unseen heavenly powers and are resistless. The tide is flowing in Europe. For centuries it has been slowly flowing in Japan. The same tide—the tide that is moving on to democracy.

Turning now from the past to the present. Into what parties are the members of the Diet divided? One listening to the Japanese conversation upon the question speedily discovers that reference is comparatively seldom made to the Upper House. Interest centers in the House of Representatives. This is not because there are no divisions in the House of Peers. Rumor reports them so sharp that they are manifest

even at private entertainments. But for the most part they are not on party lines. The Peers are agitated rather by questions of rank and wealth. But doubtless the chief reason of the scant attention given to the Upper House at present is the obvious fact that the Lower House is the House of and for the people. Speaking briefly and somewhat broadly, the members of the House of Representatives may be divided into four classes:

(1) There is a company of Independents who decline for the present to connect themselves with any party.

(2) There is the National Liberal Party (Kokumin Jiyu To). Some four or five years ago a cry was raised against what was called the Europeanizing Principle. The objection was not to the material products of western civilization—the railways, telegraphs, ironclads, etc.; but to its social customs, its systems of law, its religion. The watchword was, "Revere History. Maintain the life of Old Japan." The National Party represents these sentiments. It is, therefore, anti-foreign and anti-Christian. The party is extremely heterogeneous in its elements. Still, it may have a future. It numbers among its adherents some of the shrewdest politicians in Japan. But at present it occupies a secondary place in public interest.

(3) There is the Progressive Party (Kai-shin To). The agitation of the old Liberal Party gave to Count Okuma the opportunity of a politician. His own position in the government was at the time unstable. He obtained an interview with the Emperor, and received his promise that this year should see the convocation of a Parliament. Okuma then retired and formed the Progressive Party. It was a shrewd attempt to take the wind out of the sails of the Liberals. This party has always been rich in orators; and in general its reputation has been for talking rather than for doing. Its principles do not differ essentially from those of the Liberals. The differences between the two are almost wholly personal or sentimental. Repeated efforts have therefore been made to unite both in a single party. These efforts have thus far failed to accomplish that object. But while the parties have not yet been brought to the point of union, they have agreed upon co operation in the Diet. This is just now the fact of special interest in Japanese politics.

(4) There is the Constitutional Liberal Party (Rikken Jiyu To). This is the successor of the old Liberal Party—the party that has always stood for a constitutional

government. Its reorganization was described in a recent letter to the *Interior*. Suffice to add that it is not only the successor of the old Liberal Party, but that it is also the inheritor of its traditions and honors. It goes without saying that its most distinguished member is Itagaki. What is the significance of these facts? The Liberals and the Progressives together constitute the majority of the Diet. The outlook therefore is that the Diet may be counted on for an endeavor to work on Liberal lines. This raises the question of the immediate future. What are the questions likely to be brought before the Diet by the Liberal Party?

The *Jiyu Shimbun* (the organ of the Liberals) has recently published a long list of subjects which it states are to be embodied in measures to be submitted to the Diet. The following are among those of the greatest general interest.

(1) The reduction of the land tax one-half of one per cent. This, it is said, will amount to a reduction in the revenue of about five million dollars annually. The claim is that the land tax is relatively far too high.

(2) Reform in the Press Laws. At present copies of all publications must be submitted to the authorities. This often occasions much delay and great inconvenience. Newspapers may not publish a memorial to the government. They are suspended sometimes one hardly knows why. It is not claimed that the Press Laws should be abolished, but it is claimed that they are oppressive and should be modified.

(3) Reform in the laws regulating public meetings. As in the case of the Press Laws, it is not insisted that there should be no laws regulating assemblies. On the contrary, it is right and to be desired that all necessary provision be made for the due preservation of order. Nor is there any objection to a rule that reasonable notice—say twenty-four hours—be sent to the police. But objection is made to such regulations as these: All political meetings must be reported to the police four days in advance. The subjects of the addresses cannot be advertised in the newspapers, or posted on the outside of the building in which the meeting is held. A speaker may criticize any political party with all freedom. If he criticises the Government he must pay for the privilege.

(4) Limitation of the powers of the Government in various directions. For example: The removal of the university and all public schools from its direct control. The



correction of the evil of granting subsidise to private enterprises. The abolition of the Peace Preservation Regulations—the edict by which the Government compels persons not convicted of crime to retire from the capital.

(5) The extension of the electoral franchise and the increase of representation in the House of Representatives.

(6) Prison reform. This point is not included in the programme published in the *Jiyu Shinbun*, but it is under consideration. It is a common impression that Japanese prisons may fairly be compared with prisons in America. They are sometimes described as models. Mr. Kataoka, a member of the Diet, a gentleman beyond contention and an elder in the church at Koichi, assures me that this impression is quite erroneous. Not long ago he himself spent nearly a year in prison for a political offence. His experience was as follows: The food is scant and wretched. Prisoners are allowed clothing barely sufficient to cover them; not sufficient to keep them warm. The fact that one comes from the south and that the prison is in the north makes no difference. Little consideration is shown in sickness. During the long winter nights the prisoners lie awake hour after hour in cold and hunger, unable to sleep for the ceaseless tramp of the guard in the hall. Worse than these things is the tyranny of the jailers. No prisoner may address a jailer without prostrating himself on the ground. The slightest offense, real or imaginary, is punished by beating. In one case at least beating was the indirect cause of death. This is not the impression carried away by foreigners who visit the prisons; for pains are taken that they shall carry away a different impression. On the other hand, one should not suppose that Japanese prisons can compete in horrors with the prisons in Russia. But there is ample room for reform.

(7) Revision of the treaties. On this question there is now said to be a difference of opinion among the Liberals. Some regard the control of the tariff as the chief point, and would be willing to let the matter of jurisdiction over foreign residents rest for the present as something sentimental rather than serious. Others take precisely the opposite view. To them the present position of foreigners as amenable only to their own consuls is intolerable. The honor of the nation is involved. According to the latest reports, this will be the position of the party as a party. But it is not unlikely that both points will be insisted upon. A

leading member of the party recently said to me: "The Liberals are content to wait for five years in order to allow full time for foreigners to adjust themselves to the change. But at the end of that time they will be satisfied with nothing short of the control of the tariff and the abolition of consular jurisdiction." To the question, "Will foreigners then be allowed to acquire and hold property throughout the country?" the answer was, "Under such restrictions as shall be necessary for the protection of Japanese interests."

And what are the thoughts of the people under constitutional government? Probably the masses hardly know what to think. The newspapers, it need scarcely be said, talk of nothing else. But what are the feelings of the men who have waited long and suffered not a little that this day might come? Such a man is Mr. Kataoka, the gentlemen to whom I have already referred, and for years a right arm to Itagaki. As nearly as I can recall them, these are the concluding words of a long conversation with which he recently favored me:

"No doubt it will seem somewhat presuming to compare the two. But I never read the story of the Exodus and the journeyings of the children of Israel to the banks of the Jordan, and think of the long road which we have traveled to constitutional government in Japan, without finding a host of analogies. When Itagaki withdrew from a place in the Government, it was rejecting the wealth of Egypt and choosing rather affliction with the nation. The first thought of all of us was that the land of Canaan was not far off; but we have found the path long, and it has led us through a great and terrible wilderness. Face to face with difficulties and dangers, many repented of their choice and in heart returned into Egypt. Some complained that they had been deceived, and were angry and murmured. Some early gave up all hope, but others have ever been strong in faith. Of many it is true that they died in the wilderness, and that only their children shall cross to the other side of the Jordan. Nor is the work yet done. There are still cities high and fenced to heaven. But we have now reached the brink of the river, and we shall go over it in faith."

TOKYO, JAPAN.

If you think that the teachings of Jesus have been outlived, try to live them out.—*Christian Register*.

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN OUR TIME.

BY RICHARD S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times*, Philadelphia, December 27, 1890.

THE command given long ago is still as imperative for all who own allegiance to Christ as it was at the beginning; it will continue to be so till all shall have heard the Divine message, and there shall be no more call or room for its fresh preaching. And it is one of the astonishing facts in the progress of modern thought, that, after the vast missionary successes of the early disciples, and of those who have followed them, down to our day, there remains still, here and there, a doubt, even among those who call themselves Christians, whether the lesser and lighter work yet remaining can be performed; whether it is possible, even in our day, to preach the gospel to every creature—to make disciples of all the nations. The apostles might almost have been pardoned if they had hesitated before a command so staggering as this to human prudence. But surely we are fools and blind if we draw back in timid unbelief; since the nations are now physically accessible, all over the world, as then they were not. The earth is so knit together that it might almost be said to be diminished in physical bulk, by steamships, railways, lines of telegraph, the explorations and expansions of commerce. Its most distant parts are practically nearer to us to-day than the confines of the empire were in Paul's day to Rome. Japan and China are not as remote as Britain then was from the palaces on the Tiber. India is an English dependency; Egypt, a European suburb; Africa is being brought into the light of general knowledge, in all its extent, with a rapidity proportioned to the depth of the darkness in which it has lain; the islands of the Pacific are within easy reach from American shores. There is a supreme moral meaning in modern machineries. They came contemporaneously with the wide uprising of the missionary spirit, and came to be its ministers—the swifter wheels for its advance, the silver trumpets for its Divine tidings.

There is now, too, a surpassing weight and majesty in the appeal of the gospel which never before appeared so fully, not only in its address to individuals, but to peoples. It has now a Christian civilization behind it, such as the old world knew nothing about—hundreds of years of what has

been, on the whole, an impressive, an illustrious history. The gospel is not henceforth in words alone, in letters, sermons, even treatises and volumes. It is in great civilized states, whose fame is familiar throughout the world; it pervades large parts of the noblest modern literature; it is in arts of beauty, and in useful inventions; in governments at once popular and strong, in multitudinous institutes of learning and of charity, in millions of churches, and tens of millions of happy, cultured, and prosperous homes. It sets its impress on statute-books, and makes laws more humane. It helps the poor, and heals the sick, and gives sight to the blind, as did the Master. It carries education into humblest hamlets, and it fronts tyranny, on whatever coast, or legalized crime wherever it exists, with a voice of command like that of the Lord, and with sure expectation of victory to come. Therefore the nations are more ready to receive it than ever before; because they see, and cannot but see, the secular benefits which march in its train. They want what it has done for others to be done by it for themselves; and whether its doctrines and precepts suit them or not—though these continue as offensive to them as aforetime they were to Roman and to Jew—the peoples of the world feel, as Darwin did, that “the lesson of the missionary is the enchanter's wand,” and they want that wand to start liberty, education, popular advancement among themselves; to turn the coal into color and power, to transform iron into steel, and to make electricity the servant of man. There is no mistaking this vast new trend in the attitude of the unevangelized world toward the Gospel of Christ. It may want this for its effects, rather than for itself; but those effects shine before it, quickening desire, alluring hope, as a sovereign prize.

At just this point there appears also, as almost might have been expected, another combination of cosmical forces reminding one of that in which Roman power and law went with Greek speech around the world. The interdependence of distant peoples was never before so close as now; and the outreach of the commerce and of the languages of Protestant nations was never so vast. Not mere isolated points are now accessible to the Master's message. The whole world is open to it—dusky continents and cannibal islands, lands newly discovered, and lands of ancient and proud renown. It may be almost literally said that there is no people, or part of a people, no tribe or fraction of a tribe, to which may not be carried at once the angels' song, with the transfiguring

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story which follows. The habitations of cruelty have seen a new light, remotest coral-reefs watch for the mission-ship, Ethiopia stretches her hands unto God.

So such successes are realized now as have not been paralleled since the early days of missions. Standing in the vestibule, the house is not altogether in our view. Standing in one city-street the whole splendid and populous area is not before us; and figures as yet cannot fully set forth what has been achieved since the oldest American missionary society found birth and being, eighty years ago. But it is something, certainly, that American missions alone now occupy more than four thousand stations in unevangelized lands, with twenty-three hundred and fifty missionaries sent from this country, and more than ten thousand native helpers; that there are at these stations more than twenty-seven hundred churches, with nearly two hundred and thirty seven thousand communicants, of whom twenty-six thousand were added last year; and that four millions of dollars are contributed annually in our country to carry on the work. It is something, certainly, that all Protestant missionary societies have now forty-six thousand missionaries and helpers in the field, ministering to nearly seven hundred thousand communicants, and to more than three millions of adherents to Christianity, and expending every year at least twelve millions of dollars in the distant and costly work.

These aggregates are already large, while they become more significant when we add the schools, seminaries, hospitals, printing establishments, which have sprung up on all sides in the path of Christian missions. But a yet more animating fact is the fact that the ratio of increase in the added communicants is steadily rising, and that only limitation of means for the work forbids or hinders the opening of new areas for the preaching of the truth on every hand, in many lands. He who doubts about the success of Christian missions, under the light of the last eighty years, may doubt if steamships will ever reach England because they sweep down the bay with accelerating speed; may doubt if a building will ever be erected because as yet only the lower stories have rapidly risen upon the immense and firm foundations. It is a childish folly which doubts, not an experienced practical wisdom. A hundred years hence—perhaps another eighty years—will see the world generally Christianized, if the courage and enterprise of Christian disciples are at all a match for their great opportunity.

Here then appears the immense and pressing duty of our time; pressing as the inexorable movement of the years, urgent as the moral and social need of mankind, superlative as the nature and work of the Lord! Here appears, too, our noblest privilege—the privilege of taking part in this majestic cosmical enterprise; of following in the line of those whose faith, consecration, and holy heroism, have built Christendom, and have made the religion which to human eyes came out of Galilee familiar in its name, and in many of its principles, wherever thought has language for its vehicle; the privilege of coming to such fellowship with the Master as cannot be reached in song or sacrament, or in even the uplift and ecstasy of prayer. We touch his mighty and tender hand as nowhere else, when we are doing his work in the world. We come nearer to him here than we can elsewhere until we see him face to face; and many a distant missionary home, remote from civilization, planted amid an earthly darkness dense enough to be felt, is radiant with his manifest presence as the costliest chapel or the proudest cathedral never is. In this work we touch the future of the world, and put elements and forces into its history which shall be springing to their results long after the very stones at our graves shall have crumbled into dust. Every strong spirit must sympathize with that desire of a perennial usefulness in the world which survived the hope of personal immortality in the mind of her in whose career brilliance and sadness, power and pathos, so strangely mingled—the author of "*Romola*." Through missions for the gospel we realize the hope, and make the coming ages bright. It is the province of civilization to conquer and re-fashion the physical earth, as it is widely, magnificently doing, making wastes to bloom, abolishing mountains as barriers to intercourse, irrigating deserts, conquering seas, setting village and city amid the encircling loveliness of landscape. The gospel is for every created thing, and the earth arrays itself in new garments before it.

But the primary and pre-eminent office of that gospel, and of the churches which make world wide the knowledge of it, is morally to renew the race of mankind to which the earth has been committed, and so to build on the globe that ultimate, resplendent city of God which shall link the earth with spheres celestial, having come down out of heaven from God! No other work can be conceived so vital and so noble as that! There can be no other the remembrance of

which shall be to us so beautiful and dear when we stand—if we may—with apostles and martyrs, and with the redeeming Son of God, in worlds of light.

For this is needed more than anything else, the temper of utter consecration—which gives money gladly and vastly; which gives life, with that utter unreserve which marks the highest reach and royalty of the devoted human soul. Men and women not unfrequently appear, who are willing to go to Japan, perhaps, and to work on the field of that strange civilization; who are willing, possibly, to go to China or India, or into famous Syrian districts. All honor to such! Oftentimes their help is greatly needed, and is most effective. But Paul was as ready to go to the rude peoples of Lycaonia as to the sumptuous and profligate Corinth; to the lawless and gluttonous liars of Crete as to the stoic and epicurean philosophers in the city of the violet crown. It will not be till his temper is common among the energetic and strong in our churches, and especially among the young, that the Master's command will be fulfilled, and the world in its entire compass will have heard the words of eternal life. Livingstone counted it a privilege, not a sacrifice, to have spent so much of his life in Africa; and that is the spirit of which the promised millennium shall show itself the predestined outcome!

### THE ELECTIONS IN JAPAN IN RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

From *The Independent* (London), December 19, 1890.

FROM a private letter we condense the following:—In July last the election of the first Japanese Parliament took place. Out of a population of 39,383,263, the qualified voters were 450,365, or about one in 87. The number who did not vote was 27,636, an average of six per cent. Owing to some irregularity 2823 votes did not count. Thus, out of every hundred votes 94 went to the poll—"a remarkable evidence," says our correspondent, "of the interest felt in the election. Each voter must be twenty-five years of age, and pay an annual tax of 15 yen (about £3). . . . No feature of the election has been more interesting than its relation to Christianity, and no event more clearly indicates the rising influence of the young Church of Christ in Japan. It is said that before the election in many centres the worst thing that could be brought against a candidate was that he was a Chris-

tian. So strongly was this felt that not a few who were approvers of Christianity were impelled to declare publicly that they were not Christians. One church-member, under this pressure, so trimmed his Christianity as to practically put himself outside of the Church; others stood with heroic firmness. In one district, in pressing a Christian to be a candidate, the voters said, 'Better give up your Christianity.' 'I would rather be a Christian than a candidate,' was his reply. 'But you are an office-bearer, and as the Constitution prohibits religious *teachers* from election, you may be regarded by some as a teacher, and so lose your election. Give up your office.' 'No,' he said, 'I can't do that; to be an officer of the Church of Christ is more pleasure to me than to be a member of the National Diet.' He stood firm against all such appeals, and he lost nothing by his firmness, for he went in with a good majority. From . . . the centre and stronghold of Buddhism in Japan a Christian representative has been sent, and it is estimated that there will be not less than thirteen Christians, all of whom are in the first rank, and it is not at all unlikely that one of these will be the first Premier."

### CHRISTIANITY IN THE HOME.

BY THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.

From *The Christian at Work*, January 15, 1891.

No two words have a more vital importance than Christianity and Home. Underneath the foundations of both Church and State lies the household; it is older also than either of them. There is no such school of Bible-religion in the land as a happy God-fearing home. No church is effective for restraint from evil, and for growth in all Christian graces as "the church in the *house*." There stands the domestic altar. There is felt the influence that moulds character from the cradle to the judgment-seat; such a home on earth is the surest preparation for the Home eternal in the heavens. Of this "church in the house" the parents are the God-ordained pastors. A whole volume might be written on domestic religion; but I must restrict myself to a few plain hints to parents. On you rests the responsibility.

(1) In the first place, make your home attractive. Put into it every adornment that you can honestly afford. Books, mu-



sical instruments, and pictures are good investments : but nothing will pay better than a bright open fire in the sitting-room. It makes a cheerful rallying-place for the whole family. Ned will not be so anxious to run off to the theatre or to the billiard-rooms, and Mary will not be so hungry for the opera or the ball-room ; they will be easier held fast to a warm glowing heart-shrine. Around that fireside you, father, ought to spend as many evenings as possible. The music of your daughter's piano ought to be sweeter to you than the screechings of any imported *prima donna*. A pleasant game with your children, or a good romp with them, or a half hour with them over their lessons will make them love you the more, and will banish the cares that over-loaded you during the day. To have such a home, you must make it. The husband that forsakes his household for his club or any other haunt, and a wife who lives in a constant round of outside engagements, do not deserve to have a home ; and from it their children will soon be glad to escape. It is idle for you to forbid your children to attend places of amusement if you provide no innocent wholesome recreation for them. A Christian father of my acquaintance has a music-room in his house ; and another one has a billiard-table at which he plays with his own boys. When two young people united with my church, their father said to me, "I have always *anchored* my children at home, and now I see the fruits of it." When boys and girls *drift* from their homes, they commonly fetch up on the lee-shore of ruin.

(2) Remember that for the religion of your household you are chiefly responsible. Sunday-schools are admirable institutions ; but their original object was to reach the children who had no religious instruction at home. They were never intended to release Christian parents from the obligations which God lays upon them. All the Sunday-schools in the world could never have done for me what my godly mother did—in my early rural home. Books for children were scarce sixty years ago ; and my juvenile literature for Sunday was the Bible, "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "New England Primer." The "Primer" contained its doggerel rhymes, its picture and story of John Rogers the martyr at the stake, and the Westminster Catechism. That Catechism ground into my memory has been my compend of theology and sheet-anchor of orthodoxy to this day ; and to its form of sound words I have held forth with as tight a grip as a churchman holds to his Prayer-

book, or a Scotch Highlander to the plaid of his clan. God's Word thoroughly learned, Bunyan and the Catechism were the *dairy* that supplied the "sincere milk" of our childhood ; it was fed to us by a praying, loving mother's hand. Has a half century of boasted progress made any improvement on that strong diet ? Is one hour on the Sabbath in a school any substitute for your wholesome instruction of your children in divine things all the week ?

The most effective religious influence you exert upon your sons and daughters does not come from the books you teach them, but from the *example* you set before them. Your character streams into your children ; it enters through their eyes and through their ears every hour. How quick they are to imitate ! No photographic plate is more sensitive to the images which lodge there. Your irritations irritate them ; your dissimulations make them tricky and deceitful ; your malicious gossip sets "their teeth on edge." If you talk "money-money," they will conclude that the chief end of life is to get rich. If you prefer the play-house to prayer-meeting, they will become lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God. If you set a decanter on your table, your boys will sip their first wine-glasses there. If you give your child a *dollar* for the toy-shop or a place of amusement, and only a *dime* for the contribution-box, you teach them that self-indulgence is ten times more important than Christian benevolence. If you live for the world, your children may die in wordliness and be lost forever. Not more surely do you provide the clothes for their bodies, than you weave the habits of their lives and the mind-garments that they will be wearing after you are dead. As clothes are made stitch by stitch, so you weave their character by numberless little things and by your *unconscious influence*. The Christian or un-Christian atmosphere of every house is created by the parents.

Outbreaks of passion have a terrible influence on your children. A very cultured gentleman of my acquaintance pleads as his excuse when he gets enraged : "I can't help it. My father was just so ; his boys are all so. We cannot live together in peace ; we never did. We are all possessed of the devil." What a penalty the living sons are paying for the sin of him who first brought that "devil" into the household ! Where there is a *profession* of piety behind all such volcanic exhibitions, what disgust for religion must be excited in the young hearts that witness them !

(3) While I would not underrate the in-

fluence of the father—for good or for evil—yet it is mainly the mother who controls the home and imparts to it its prevailing atmosphere. Susannah Wesley's hand rings all the Methodist church-bells around the globe. Commonly it is true that *like mother like man*. If the mother is frivolous, prayerless and fashion-loving, and careless of the spiritual influence of her children, the whole home-atmosphere feels the taint. As soon try to raise oranges in Greenland as expect to find much early piety under that roof. The downward pull of the mother's influence through the week is apt to be too strong for the upward pull of the best preaching or teaching on the Sabbath. On the other hand, if she does her utmost to make the religion of Jesus attractive to her family, if she is watchful of every opportunity to lead them Christward, if she follows up the effect of the Sabbath-gospel by the more powerful influence of home-gospel, there is almost a certainty that God will send his converting grace into that household. Richard Cecil, the great London preacher, says that he tried to be an infidel when he was a youth; but he could not gainsay or resist his mother's beautiful piety. He tells us that "she used to talk to me and weep as she talked. I flung out of the house with an oath, but I cried too when I had got out into the street. Sympathy is the powerful engine of a mother." Yes; and if all mothers were but fervent in prayer and winsome in their every-day religion we should behold what Dr. Bushnell calls the "out-populating power of the Christian stock." The Church in the house would feed the Church at the communion-table in God's house.

(4) There are two kinds of Christianity in the home. One is a pious sham; the other is a solid reality. One parent prays for the conversion of his family and then sets them an example of money-worship or fast living, and even cracks jokes, talks politics and gives Sunday dinners after the most solemn sermons in the sanctuary. The other parent not only prays for the conversion of his and her children, but aims to *live them toward Christ*. The conversation of the fireside, the books selected for their reading, the amusements chosen for their recreation, the society that is invited, and the aims set before them, all bear in one way and that the right way. It is in the power of every parent to help or also to sadly hinder the salvation of their offspring. "Chips of the old block" are most of our children after all. Then how vitally important is it that the old blocks be sound timber! To train up a family wisely and for

the Lord requires more sagacity than to write a book, and more grace than to preach a sermon. On the preaching in the home depends the extension of the Church and the safety of the commonwealth. May God help all parents to fulfil their high and holy trusteeship!

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

### THE CZAR'S JUDENHETZE.

From *The New York Tribune*, December 28, 1890.

TIME brings no abatement of the hardships suffered by the Jews in Russia. The public protests so freely and fervently uttered in almost all countries of the civilized world are unheeded. The humble petitions of thousands of loyal and industrious Jews in Russia are also unheeded. Perhaps, though, unheeded is not the right word. Some notice is taken of these things by the Government. But the only result is the very reverse of what is prayed for. The hapless Israelites are treated all the more severely, by way of punishing them for not rejoicing under persecution and for having sympathetic friends elsewhere. The venerable rabbi who declared that this was the worst persecution since the Babylonish captivity was not far wrong. Certainly not in all the Dark Ages, not even in Spain, were the "Chosen People" treated worse than now. The extra-legal persecutions need not be named. They are really too horrible, in many cases, to name. It seems to be generally understood that any crime committed by a "Christian" against a Jew will be winked at; and so every imaginable outrage and infamy is heaped upon them. But apart from these things the legal and officially authorized oppression is bad enough to make this age notable in the history of persecution. It is well, in sober earnest, to review briefly the legislation, if arbitrary decrees be legislation, aimed specifically at the Jews.

To begin with taxes. All Russians are heavily taxed. But in addition to the taxation which they share with the rest of the people, the Jews suffer several special taxes. One of these is the box tax, which is levied upon every pound of meat butchered according to Jewish rites, which means, of course, all the meat eaten by Jews. This increases the cost of meat to Jews about 25 per cent above the cost of meat to Christians. But this tax goes further than meat. It is levied on the rents of all build-

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ings owned by Jews, on the profits of all business conducted by Jews, upon all property bequeathed by Jews to their heirs, upon all clothing worn by Jews, and on various other Jewish interests. For example, every Jew has to pay \$3.50 a year for the privilege of wearing a skull-cap at family prayers, according to the universal custom of his people. Nor is this the only tax on his religious rites, for there is another so-called candle-tax, which is levied upon all candles burned by Jews in religious observances. Now, it is the custom for every Jewish housewife to light at least two candles on every Sabbath and on every festival day. The aggregate of this candle-tax is an enormous sum. There is, also, a printing-tax, levied on all printing-presses operated by Jews, ranging from \$14 to \$140, according to the size of the press.

It is safely reckoned then that these various special levies make the average taxation of Jews more than twice as heavy as that of Christians. Nor are there any compensating advantages. On the contrary, in all other relations to the State the Jew is at a great disadvantage. Take military affairs as an example. Jews are subject to conscription as Christians are, but they are not permitted, as are Christians, to hire substitutes. If a Christian evades military duty he is fined a small amount, and if he cannot pay it there is an end of it. But in the case of a Jew a fine of \$210 is imposed, not on him, but on his family, and they must pay it or go to prison, the whole of them. Moreover, a much larger proportion of Jews than of Gentiles are drafted into service. Yet it is only as private soldiers that they can serve. No Jew can ever become a commissioned officer nor enter a school for the training of officers. All the more desirable forms of military service are denied to Jews utterly, and almost every privilege accorded to their comrades is forbidden to them.

In civil life the discrimination against them is, if possible, still more severe. No Jew may enter the civil service or practise law or medicine. No Jew may hold any local or municipal office or take part in any election for the same. No Jew may be a member of a school board, or be a police magistrate, nor be foreman of a jury, nor be master or vice-master of a guild.

If such is the oppression of the Jews in their public relations, what degree of liberty do they enjoy in their private life? There the picture is, if possible, more distressing still. With a few exceptions Jews are allowed to reside only in certain places. Once

settled they are forbidden to move. No Jew may own land in any form or for any purpose, nor may he cultivate any land which he may hire. Indeed, he is forbidden to hire agricultural land at all. He may lend money on land if he likes, but he cannot foreclose the mortgage. Nor may he act as manager or steward on a farm. Thus, while it is complained of the Jews that they monopolize trade in the towns, the law itself drives them into the towns and forbids them to live elsewhere. And then once herded in the towns, what are they to do? They must stay right there. They cannot even remove from one town to another. Nay, a Jew is not even permitted to walk a mile outside the town limits unless he first secures a passport, for which, of course, he must pay a round sum. And in the town he is compelled by law to be a member of some guild or trade association, but the master and vice-master of the guild must be Christians, and those officers have absolute authority over the members to fine or expel them at will. The result is that in all industrial pursuits the Jews suffer just as odious a discrimination as in public life.

To go further still into the private life of the Jews, it is to be observed that in no school are there allowed to be more than 10 per cent of Jewish pupils. In many towns the Jews form 50 per cent or more of the population, and so the majority of their children are denied school privileges. No relief can be obtained by sending the children to school in other places, where the number of resident Jews does not come up to the 10 per cent limit, because the law expressly declares that children of Jewish parents are allowed to attend school only in the place where their parents live. In brief, this is compulsory non-attendance at school. Moreover, the higher seminaries, music and art schools, etc., are found only in three or four of the chief cities, and of course are open only to Jewish children actually living in those cities. Such a thing as sending a Jewish child from the provinces to study music or art at St. Petersburg is absolutely prohibited. In domestic affairs, if a wife or a husband is converted to Christianity, she or he is, by that fact, divorced from the other who remains a Jew; and the convert may marry again, but the Jew must remain single. If one parent be converted all young children of the same sex must also be baptized as Christians. Moreover, a reward of from \$10 to \$20 is offered to every one who will renounce Judaism for Christianity; and many family dissensions naturally follow. As to relig-

ious worship, it is absolutely forbidden in private houses, except by special permission. That is, every Jew must secure a license to hold family prayers, or even to pray in private in his own bedchamber. Public worship in a synagogue is only permitted in places having eighty or more Jewish houses. So, in places with less than eighty Jewish houses, religious worship by Jews is totally forbidden.

But are these laws actually enforced? Certainly, to the very letter, and more. It is an every-day occurrence for Jews to be arrested, fined and imprisoned for praying without licenses. Children of wayward habits are bribed to profess Christianity and then to betray their parents in their religious observances. Moreover, the farming out of tax-gathering works great hardships. For instance, a "box-tax" of \$10,000 is levied on the Jews in a given town by the provincial Governor. The local tax gatherer thereupon increases it to \$15,000, in order to put \$5000 in his own pocket. The subordinate collectors in the various wards of the town follow his example in order to fill their own pockets. The result is that the original levy is about doubled. It is now rumored that more stringent laws still are to be promulgated; and the only question seems to be, how far will it be possible for unbridled and brutal tyranny to go?

## THE ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF THE KING'S DAUGHTERS.

BY MRS. MARGARET BOTTOME.

From *The Christian Advocate*, December 25, 1890.

A SISTERHOOD! There has always been a sort of fascination to me in the word sisterhood, aside from the Christly work you would expect a sister to do. And during the years of what has been called my drawing-room work in the city of New York, I had often felt the need of something to bind us together as women representing every denomination of the Christian Church. This impression was on my mind when, in the summer of 1885, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., called on me, at my residence, No. 230 West Fifty-ninth Street, and in the interview explained to me the nature and working of his "Ten-times-one-is-ten" clubs, which interested me greatly, renewing the convictions which had been so long silently working in my mind, closing the interview with the remark that he had

watched my public work among women, and suggested whether I did not think I was "just the one to found a sisterhood in which women could unite, for the love of Christ, to serve the Master?" The interview and its closing suggestion greatly startled me, as showing thoughts and desires to which I had as yet given no shape. A little while afterward I called to my side four friends of kindred spirit, and opened to them my views on the subject; having already written to Dr. Hale, and obtained from him his very cheerful consent to use his method of working in "Tens," and such of his mottoes as might be serviceable in any work which I might determine on. In the consultation with my friends on the subject we had the thought distinctly before us of deepening spiritual life; something that, while embracing all philanthropic effort, should first of all appear in the life and heart, in devotion to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. My friends were in perfect accord with my views, and at my suggestion each one invited another from her own circle of friends to meet together at my house to a further consideration of the subject, and for such plans as we might thereupon agree to. Accordingly, in January, 1886, at my home thus invited, these ten ladies met to consider the subject of starting a sisterhood of service.

After much prayer and earnest consultation we put ourselves into form, calling ourselves the "Central Ten," since known as the Central Council, from which, as others should be invited, other circles or "tens" should be formed. For the present we adopted also the mottoes of the "Ten-times-one-is-ten" clubs, and as our great purpose was to glorify the Master, we took the significant watchword, "In His Name."

After several names had been mentioned, one of our number suggested as the name of the Order, "The King's Daughters," which was at once adopted. Desirous of avoiding undue publicity, or in any way to interfere or supplant any existing organization of Christian effort, or to antagonize the Churches in doctrine or creed, we issued our first leaflet, which, while seeking simply to explain our plan, should be a guide for the service of such other "Tens" as might from time to time be formed. As we were not a church, but members of several denominations of the Christian body, we were careful to lay down as the basis of co-operation with each other the declaration of our faith and loyalty to the King, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and to welcome all to union of effort with us who on this basis



could believe and work in His name. It was not long, however, before we found ourselves forced into public print, and our name and work published abroad so widely and so rapidly that in self-defense we felt compelled to legalize the Order, and so obtained a charter under the name by which we have been all along known, and under the constitution which, in better form, but in the same declaration and spirit which our first circular had already expressed. Under this constitution and in the spirit and letter of our first organization the Order has become world-wide.

Our desire from the first has been that the force of the Order should be felt in its simple suggestiveness, rather than in any independent method or doctrine. We are not a church, but offer ourselves as handmaidens to any effort of the Church for the building up of the Redeemer's kingdom under whatever denomination, leaving the members of each Circle to determine for themselves the method and character of their work or belief, according to their own accepted theological views and Church order. In all our teaching we have spoken of the Order as four-sided: First, the *heart*. The first duty is with our King, the recognition and acknowledgment that He is our King, and that we wish to be His loyal subjects; yielding to Him ourselves in loving obedience and trust. After the heart comes the *home*. The duty that lies next to her is the duty of every King's Daughter; and if she has a mother, the mother comes first. So we have many Circles, called "Home Brighteners," "Sunshine Circles"—circles formed to keep the wrinkles from coming too soon on the brow of father and mother. (I know of one Circle that has taken for its work, "Devoted Attention to Mother's Need." At the head of that Circle is the daughter of a Methodist minister. She has taken the care of housekeeping off her mother's hands. She said to me, smilingly: "You see, mother is so devoted to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, that I want to have her free from home cares." From the first we have emphasized the doing of little things in His name.) After the home comes the *church*—the church to which such Daughters belong. Where can they find so ready a field for Christian service as in their own church and under direction of their own pastor? And if pastors are wise they will use their services in carrying forward the various work of the church. Correspondence with many pastors bears beautiful testimony to the usefulness of Circles in all departments of church work. It is not a so-

ciety for new work. It takes old work in a fresh spirit. No better definition of the Order can be given than that which one of our own beloved bishops gave it a little while ago: "The Order," he said, "is an inspiration, a perfume, the blossoming out of a flower."

The Daughters and Sons in their Circles can effectively promote the interests of the Epworth League, or Christian Endeavor, or any other department of Christian work that may come to their hands. In many instances, where a Sabbath-school teacher has failed in efforts to interest her class, the suggestion of the simple Circle banded together, "In His Name," has had the effect of not only winning attention and respect, but ultimately of winning all hearts to the Master. And the same is true where the suggestion has been applied to the class-meeting.

I know of one excellent class-leader who adopted the Circle plan, and by the new inspiration which the significant watchword of the Order gave to the novelty of it soon made the class overflow with an enthusiastic membership. Very wisely the Rev. J. B. Hamilton, of New York East Conference, who has the cause of our "worn-out preachers" on his heart and brain, calls to the King's Daughters in our Methodist churches to take up the subject and work for "the veterans." Already we know of "Tens" formed for this work. Then after the *heart*, the *home*, and the *church* comes the *great outside*—the awfully sad and sinful outside. And to this outside our King is leading us. The "Inasmuch Circles" did not mean as much to us at first as they do now. Some of us have gone out under the pressure of our significant motto, and have found the great outside world sorrowing and crying for help and sympathy, and sometimes finding other laborers who had gone out into the field before us, some as representatives of other Christian societies, and some alone, but whose hands were hanging down in despair at the greatness of the work and the littleness of Christian support, and these have been cheered and helped as they felt the pressure of loving hands on their shoulders, and heard the hearty greeting, "We have come to help you." And so together, as well as singly, the Circles of the King's Daughters are found in every field of labor and every place of need.

A very efficient service under the organization has been formed by the Sons of the King (this is not a distinct Order, but only the same Order for the benefit of Sons who are willing to co-operate with the Daughters

under the same Central Council and Constitution) called the Rescue Circles. These Circles have branches in various cities which are under operation for the special work of rescuing the drunkard and the fallen. In this connection many distinct missions for this special work are in most active progress, and the reports from them are of most encouraging character. Meanwhile, Chapters have been formed, embracing several Circles, whose chosen work is such relief as can be given to the poor and friendless in the crowded tenement districts of our large cities; and whose reports bear testimony not only to faithful work done, but equally to the sad need of greatly multiplied agencies. In the more distinctive work of general evangelization are our regularly organized departments of Christian Missions, both Home and Foreign, and it is only necessary to say that these are under the direction of Mrs. William B. Skidmore, the beloved and efficient secretary also of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to assure every one of the thoroughness and spirit in which the Circles forming this department are conducted. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union finds equally an efficient co-operation in the department established for that work.

Not the least interesting work that is being done in other departments in our large cities and towns is that among the working girls in the stores and factories, and active Circles in every branch of labor in all parts of the country witness how sweetly and effectively the silent influence of the little silver cross is benefiting that large and often overburdened class of society, and, by the sympathy which it exerts, bridging the gulf between its members and their more favored sisters. Such, in general, is the scope which the Order gives to its suggestive idea of personal consecration of the heart to the King, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of common service to humanity, "In His Name."

The Central Council has never arrogated authority of discipline in either creed or conduct over other members of the Order, further than their simple declaration, as above stated, as the basis of unity between them. Matters of discipline must be left to the churches and pastors in whose interests and under whose direction they may be serving. In these days, when I look out upon the activities of the world both for good and evil, and then look upon the Church of Jesus Christ in the midst of it, with all the good it is doing, and yet see

how little she is effecting, and how fearful a waste there is, both in the doing and in the want of doing, I seem to hear again, in awful tones, the voice of the Master crying: "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" Lift up your eyes and see; behold! the fields are white already to the harvest! It is in answer to that cry, and in the spirit of that mission, that we women of the Central Council of the King's Daughters welcome any to our side who, for the sake of Christ and "In His Name," will thrust in the sickle, and bring in sheaves for the harvest. The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. More laborers! more laborers! Who will say, "Here am I, send me?"

### LOYALTY AND CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

BY J. W. DOANE FRANCIS, BOSTON.

From *The Episcopal Recorder*, January 1, 1891.

THE words are synonymous—the Christian who makes the underlying principles his own will never be found other than loyal to Christ, to the Church, to the best that is in himself, and to the best that is in the world. He stands in readiness for the Master's use, and acts in obedience to the Master's will. The loyalty of the Society is but the sum of that of the individual member. A Gideon's band with the spirit of a Gideon will accomplish more than a mixed multitude. Societies fastened to the common centre, as spokes are fastened to the hub, are united and strong, but an army with many banners invites defeat. I would speak of the Endeavor Society, its strength and its weakness, and plead an unswerving loyalty from every member and every society to the one banner of our Lord and Saviour.

The growth of the Society has been phenomenal. It has been welcomed by most evangelical denominations. Its societies are counted by the thousands. Its membership by the hundred thousand. It has called into active service those who had been idlers in the vineyard. It has called forth other multitudes who, under God, it has been the means of bringing into new life, and by setting them to work ere the flush of the new-born holy zeal could fade, has given them the opportunity to know by experience the sweetness of labor for Christ, and has held them for the Church. Many are the country churches who have taken

a new lease of life and courage, because of the young people's meeting. The same is true of many city churches. It has been thought by some because I had criticised certain practices of Endeavor Circles, that I was adverse to the idea. Far from it. In the very article, speaking of the Eighth Annual Convention, I said, "I was there convinced that the Christian Endeavor movement was ordained of God, for the quickening of His servants, and the sending them forth into all the world to prepare for His coming. I have not changed my opinion." Its growth, coupled with the spiritual work accomplished, are the seals to the Divine commission. I have criticised the Society because I would have it above criticism, and because such criticism coming from within the ranks may be the more effective.

Grand as the work has been, there are tendencies, little leaks in the dyke, which weaken its supporters, strengthen the opposition, and threaten to destroy the influence of the Society. As noble a Christian as Rev. A. J. Gordon warned the societies not to give undue prominence to social life. Many good people who have never attended a Christian Endeavor prayer-meeting will pass over fifty-two well sustained prayer-meetings, pointing with scornful triumph to the solitary "cobweb social," as an evidence that the spiritual life is being crowded out, and at once condemns all societies, north, south, east and west. The President of the United Societies, Dr. Clark, is a most estimable Christian, whom God has highly honored by calling to the special service. Bearing his high office with humility, God has given him wisdom richly, and it would seem to require almost superhuman wisdom, and an organization far more compact than the present, to guide so vast a throng unerringly. It must be remembered that each society is absolutely independent of the United Society and of all others, being under the direct control of the local church. Yet although the only power wielded by the United Society is the power of a moral influence, it is held responsible for the doings of all.

The fact that so many denominations are represented is not an unmixed blessing. When the time for the convention arrives, speakers must be selected to represent as many as possible, and unless the greatest care is used, discordant notes will arise. It is of infinite value that these speakers should be sound in the faith. Alas! they sometimes seem to be selected because they stand high in their denomination, and with

little regard to their theology. This is a serious fault.

But by far the greater danger which threatens the organization is that which comes from its great numerical success. The striving for eminence in names and figures as an indication of success is fraught with danger. A ship may be sunk by having too many on board, as well as too few. We have enlarged our borders so freely and so often that now we find in our midst those who are not of us, and whose potent influence is foreign to the original design.

In the Massachusetts Convention it was painful to see the demoralization caused by the admission of a few—a very few—liberal societies. Humanitarianism was exalted, broad views extolled, and the statement made, amid applause, that the white-light of Christianity was found in the blending of the three primal colors of the religious prism—Calvinistic, Armenian and Liberal theology. This may sound well, but every Endeavorer who is loyal to Christ should resent such teaching. Try it with a text, "All should honor the Son, *even as they honor the Father*: he that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father" (John v. 23).

Some of us have seen the havoc made in the Order of King's Daughters by the admission of liberals to that once stanch Trinitarian Society. All of us know what the toleration of a few germs of Romish error has wrought in the ranks of the Episcopal communion. The attempt to mingle oil with water has ever resulted in rendering the water unfit. Therefore, as Endeavorers true to the first principles, and as Reformed Episcopalians loyal to the truth as it is in Jesus, and knowing by experience the sad consequences of tolerating error, it seems to me to be our duty to protest against the admission of these aliens to the faith. And to this end, I submit the following resolution of protest:

*To the United Society of Christian Endeavor:*

WHEREAS, The admission of the societies of the liberal churches is detrimental to the best interests and sound faith of the Societies of Christian Endeavor,

Resolved, That we members of the Christian Endeavor of the Reformed Episcopal Church do herewith protest against the admission of said liberal societies.

When we have performed this duty, perhaps we shall be able to perfect and extend the work in our own Church, until every parish shall have its Christian Endeavor Society, every society shall be an aggressive missionary centre, and all shall be united in a progressive denominational union. May the Lord grant it speedily.

## THE REAL ISSUE.

From *The New York Observer* (Presbyterian), January 13, 1891.

THE camel has succeeded in getting his head inside the door and now the churches are compelled to decide whether to make him take his head out or to let the rest of him in without regard to the number of his humps. His head would have been in long ago, except for a sense of honor and duty which once made it impossible for men of a certain class to profess what they rejected and opposed. Modern rationalism in Germany, in the person of its most renowned advocate, published an elaborate exposition of the methods by which an infidel teacher might retain his position as a Professor of Theology, just as Cardinal Newman shocked the moral sense of England by an equally elaborate exposition of the methods by which a Romanist might profess to be and perform all the functions of a Protestant minister. It is not worth while to unravel the moral twist which enables otherwise honorable men to occupy and defend such positions. It is now a conspicuous fact, attracting general attention, that men occupying prominent positions in Protestant churches openly question and actively oppose the faith of those churches, as this is embodied in their standards, catechisms, liturgies and hymnology. They are called by their admirers "champions of liberty of thought." This liberty consists in rejecting whatever they consider unworthy of belief in the faith of the Church, and in teaching, preaching and writing to antagonize this faith and advocate their own "advanced" ideas. For some time the various evangelical churches have acted on the principle that individual cases of defection were less injurious by not being made prominent through prosecution and trial. This leniency has doubtless tended to increase the number of those who have no sympathy with the position of their churches, and also the boldness of those who have been described as breaking the church windows by throwing stones from the pulpit.

It ought by this time to be understood by the least informed on religious subjects that the practical question now agitating the churches is simply whether their teachers are in any way bound to teach what the churches have hitherto held as Christian doctrine and still confess with their mouth as the divinely revealed truth of God. It is more a question of morals than religion. Some young man who has forced the issue to a point that is absurd would doubtless

enjoy a grand discussion of the higher criticism that has destroyed his confidence in the verity of the Gospels. He would like to have the fathers of the Church deal with him in respect to the merits of his brilliant discoveries concerning what man ought to think in regard to Christ and God. He will eloquently remonstrate with his objectors who insist upon determining and declaring whether he is false to his professions, unfaithful to his trust, completely incapable of doing the work which he has solemnly vowed to perform. He will say, Do not bring in these unpleasant, practical issues. Forget what you and the Church believe and just compare the sweet reasonableness of my ideas with those old-time bigotries. What you need is instruction. You have not examined the marvellous analyses of the higher critics. You do not assimilate the hypotheses of the evolutionists. You do not seem to know the men who now determine the Word of God and expound the universe. Give these men their due and you will be better able to say whether a clergyman must believe what he says when he repeats the creed and vows to teach the doctrines of the Church as these have been held for generations by the great body of the faithful. This is no travesty of what is actually urged, in almost every case that is forced to an issue. We speak from experience, for at the very outset of the controversy with Andover, which has resulted in protracted litigation in the civil courts, the expositors and defenders of the new theology insisted that their new departure should be treated and discussed purely on its own merits, and that the issue of consistency, honesty and fidelity should be ignored. We showed at the time that this endeavor to avoid the issue was vain, and that sooner or later judgment would be rendered by the law or public opinion or both.

This question as to whether the evangelical Churches are to become Broad Churches, in the sense of having no well-defined faith, retaining their standards merely as meaningless relics, is vastly more important in respect to the theological seminaries than in respect to the pulpits. Pulpits change in their character with changes in the ministry. Individuals may wander here and there, "cruising around after truth," and do no more than make people stare a little at their eccentricities. There is much in all well-established churches to counteract the destructive tendencies of rationalistic contempt for the supernatural in the Word of God and the faith of Christendom. But it is not possible to exaggerate the dangers



that now threaten the strongest of the Protestant Churches in the teaching that is already tolerated in some of their theological seminaries in Scotland and in America. Because men are learned, brilliant, popular, they are retained in or appointed to positions where they have the opportunity to mould the character of hundreds of pulpits. Though these men make no secret of having surrendered one after another of the outposts by which the Church has grandly held its own against the world, they are for the sake of peace, of charity, of popularity with them that are without, permitted to go on with their work. So influential is their labor, or the labor of others, in undermining the faith and removing landmarks, that we are now assured that it is already too late to repair damages. It is said that the attempt to exercise discipline would leave the enterprising prosecutor in the position of the man who sits on the limb which he is engaged in cutting off.

Are our greatest evangelical churches no longer able to lift up the standard against the enemy that attacks the Word of God with "difficulties," "discrepancies," "variations," "errors," "immoralities," and all the other "objections" to the fact of inspiration? We well remember when every well-appointed theological school in America and Scotland was furnished with strong men who were more than equal to the task of maintaining the integrity and infallibility of the Scriptures. Such men still abound and occupy chairs now in our theological seminaries, second to none in their piety, their learning, and their ability. These men and their predecessors have believed through the Spirit that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that their Divine Master spoke intelligently when He said that the Scripture cannot be broken. Is it true that the day of such men and such teaching and such triumph is almost gone, with the old notions of depravity, the old conviction of sin, and the old joy of salvation in Jesus the only Redeemer? In spite of the extraordinary developments in Scotland and in America, we do not believe it is. It is indeed a time of danger when destructive criticism of the Bible and destructive evolutionary theology are tolerated in our schools and pulpits. But whether tolerated or sent to the places where they belong, it is no time for believers in the Word of God as this has been held by us and our fathers, to be either discouraged or pessimistic. Sooner or later, moral public opinion will compel the Churches to be honest in their confessions and professions. They cannot build a road so broad

that they can avoid deciding what they believe concerning God and His revelation of Himself. If they decide that these latest attacks upon the unity, consistency and authority of the Word of God are not matters to be confronted by sanctified learning and illuminating faith, but, on the contrary, are literary and scientific achievements to be welcomed and engrafted on the remnants of an outworn creed, then those whose minds and hearts are differently guided will have more reason than ever to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.

## THE PRESENT CRISIS.

BY C. H. SPURGEON.

From *The Sword and the Trowel*, January, 1891.

THE age is on the stir. Some sadly compare it to "the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt;" and the analogy certainly holds good to a very high degree. Others liken the period to the awakening days of spring, when all the pent-up forces burst into action, and prophesy a season of growth and fruit. There is truth in this also, although the awakening energies are not all those of goodness, and caution asks the question, "What will the harvest be?"

In any case, the constable of society cries roughly, "Move on;" and the throngs in the streets of Mansoul insist that every one shall proceed one way or another. Virtuous advances, if possible; but advances, even if virtue be left behind: such is the restless demand of the time. Politics in a hurry takes to alliances which patriotism formerly forbade, and ventures upon stratagems which old-fashioned honesty would have condemned. Benevolence in a fever will not stay to consider possible failure, and assured hazard; but declares that the die is cast, and goes in for a vast experiment. Liberty, sick of her own sweets, turns to despotic power as, at least in religion, the cure for her feebleness. Religion itself, weary of laborious advance, regards her holy scruples as *impedimenta*, and adopts the methods of the world, while her doctrinal teaching is left, like some ancient Caesar's camp, to be viewed as a curiosity by this advanced generation. These are serious alterations; are they improvements?

Those who have no delight in unsettlement and useless change are by no means indifferent spectators of the childish freaks

of this light-headed generation. As fresh developments appear, the question arises, again and again, "What next?" and with the enquiry comes the sigh, "O Lord, how long?" Certain of us are distressed beyond measure by that which others enter upon with a light heart. To mention this is to bring upon such dissentients a storm of ridicule. Our regrets cause no concern to the changeable ones. Why should they? They despise the old fogies who cannot, like themselves, rush into the bogs after the jack-o'-lantern of progress. "Doctrine!" cry they, "who cares for that?" Calling it "dogma," they make a football of it, and again they shout, "Who cares?" Without waiting for an answer, they hurry forward in their infallible wisdom to exercise their liberality of spirit by scoffing at the narrow-minded orthodox. "Waters of a full cup are wrung out to them." New teachings and new methods mar the peace of churches which, for many generations, have held to the once-delivered faith. The intrusion has been wanton and illegal; but what of that? Protests are of no avail: it usually suffices to answer them with a sneer. Where contempt would scarcely be prudent, the pretence of agreement is made to cover over a fatal difference, and to give opportunity to stab the truth in the back. All things appear to be regarded as fair in the conflict with old-fashioned believers: they are a kind of creature with whom no faith is to be kept, and to whom no rights are reserved. No matter how venerable in years, profound in knowledge, or great in usefulness a man may be, let him hold to the old faith, and he has thereby forfeited every claim to regard. "*He was the founder of the church.*" He has ruled it too long! "*He has been its principal pillar for many years.*" It is time that there was a change! "*He is gentle, and of tender spirit. It is cruel to oppose him.*" Men cannot be considered; if they are opposed to modern progress, they must endure the inevitable! This is the spirit of the new religion—the religion of "humanity," the religion of "thought and culture." So to describe it is to give serious offence, but the description has been proved to be emphatically true in many instances; and others will be forthcoming with cruel certainty in due time.

Is anything more precious given to us in the place of the doctrine which is said to be obsolete, and is therefore to be scouted? By no means. The substitutes for Solomon's shields of gold are not made of diamond, but of brass, and that brass of a poor sort. The dishes of solid meat are removed

from the table, and pottage of the most watery sort occupies the room—a pottage into which wild gourds have been shred, so that there is "death in the pot." The results patent to all, in many cases, are the decay of piety, the death of prayer-meetings, the frequenting of theatres and other places of amusement, lax morals, and a general worldliness of life. Need we go far to find Nonconformist churches which will never be accused of Puritanism, but might truthfully be called clubs for social, political, literary, and sportive purposes? Of course, the provision of amusement is judged to be laudable, and by no means a thing requiring to be defended; while the holding of bazaars, in which the stage itself is left in the rear, and Vanity Fair is outdone, is justified and commended. We have "Institutes" for youth, where the gambler tries his unaccustomed hand, and "sing-songs," where the frequenter of the low music-hall acquires his first taste for the comic and the loose. The more "liberal" the doctrine, the more free-and-easy the living. These are the new lamps which are offered us for the old. We are to barter away the gold of Ophir, and receive, in exchange, the mud of the Dead Sea. Will all professors have it so? Will the free churches be in the forefront of this mad movement toward the abyss?

It is cheering to believe that many have of late been braced up, and are recovering their footing. Testimony for the gospel is clearer from many pulpits than it was wont to be; for which may God be praised! In other cases the new system has worked itself out; and, aroused by the disastrous result, the people have returned to the truth which they once loved. The heart of the churches is in a great measure sound; and when those who rule the hour are no longer able to silence the much-enduring people, there will be a return to the former beliefs, and this will be accompanied by a firmer adhesion to them in the future. Too much is it a fact that a clique is ruling, and the real voice of the people is unheard.

Be that as it may, believers must look well to the foundations. We need to have the fundamentals laid continually; and doctrines taken for granted must be once more Scripturally proved. More and more must faith renounce dependence upon the arm of flesh, and cling tenaciously to the Lord and his Word, without the admixture of other reliances. Nothing is to be done but to continue "steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." There is one gospel, and if that be preached in the

power of the one Spirit, it must accomplish the purposes of God. God will raise up his own champions. In the way of his Providence he will fight for his own cause. This is all we desire. Party we must have none; personal honor we must not consider; let truth become once more dear to Zion, and by whomsoever the Lord shall work the reformation, it sufficeth us.

If, for her sins, the present visible church shall be left to decline into death, it will be a heavy heart-sickness to the faithful; but even then they have no reason to despair. Out of the stones of Jordan God can raise up children unto Abraham. His purposes fail not. The end of the book of history will show his hand, even if in some of its pages his name be not readily discernible. If he was honored who believed in Rome when her foes were within her walls, so shall he be who believes in the triumph of the faith when apparently overcome by the subtlest of her adversaries. In the most disastrous hour of the march of the army of the Lord, when the Amalekites are smiting the hindmost, he will do well who will take his stand, and hold his ground, and resolve to die beneath the arrows of ridicule rather than suffer harm to the ark of God. There is a faith which turns to flight the armies of the aliens. May we each one possess it now!

## A CENTURY OF REVIVALS.

BY REV. A. J. SAGE, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Baptist), New York, January 8, 1891.

ARE the Baptists of America overlooking an important centenary? If Dr. Fish, in his *Hand-book of Revivals*, is correct, the year 1790 inaugurated a century of revivals, and the First Baptist Church of Boston began the series in a revival with which it was visited during that year. Other denominations assign the commencement of this epoch to the town of East Haddam, Conn., and the date to the year 1792.

### THE GREAT AWAKENING.

In either case we are at a point which naturally brings to our consideration one of the most remarkable periods in the history of religion since the days of the apostles. For forty-five years, ending with 1790, an apathy had rested upon the churches. The great religious awakening, commonly known as the Edwards revival, had preceded this torpor. It had continued for more than ten years. It had been promoted by the preach-

ing of such extraordinary men as Whitefield, the Tennents, President Davies, Dr. Belamy, and Jonathan Edwards. It had prevailed throughout the larger part of colonial America. It had had, in my estimation, an important political, as well as religious, significance. It had promoted that unity of sentiment among colonies not too closely related, which afterward brought their people shoulder to shoulder in the battle of the Revolution. As represented in the account of Edwards and others, it had been marked by extraordinary fervors, by profound heart-searchings and by marvellous inner experiences. Preachers had been so overcome with emotion as to creep up the pulpit steps on hands and knees, and congregations had risen to their feet as one man, magnetized by the power of the preached word. Little children had been the subjects of remarkable gracious influences. Entire communities had been converted. So intense had been the feeling that Edwards wrote his treatise on the religious affections to check the tendency toward excess. Then followed two inevitable results. Fanaticism asserted itself. In eastern Connecticut and elsewhere, Davenport and others led their followers into wild extravagances, and the great revival was dissipated in the frenzies of extremists. On the other hand, a reaction followed in which gloom settled on many minds, some being tempted to suicide, as Edwards testifies, and then religious enthusiasm disappeared in a calm of forty-five years, unmarked by notable revival. The results of this great awakening were highly important, although numerically they do not seem extraordinary. The conversions numbered about fifty thousand.

Why were these reactionary results of which I spoke inevitable? Because the minds and hearts of men had been subjected to an excessive strain. The preaching of the day exalted the supernatural. The divine side of truth was emphasized and the human side was ignored. The sovereignty of God was magnified into an awfulness before which men trembled as helpless creatures groping for some ray of mercy which they dared not expect, and ignorant of that infinite love which in Christ is ever reaching out for the fallen. The smallest sin was represented as deserving eternal sufferings, on which a holy God could look with rejoicing. Religion appeared in tragic robes, enacting the solemn drama of the universe. The strain was too tremendous. Extravagance and reaction into apathy were inevitable consequences.

## A GREAT REVIVAL WAVE.

In 1790, if we are to adopt that date, the long repose was broken. Moore's history, as quoted by Dr. Fish, says: "The revivals in the First and Second Baptist churches were the first in the series of revivals wherewith God blessed Boston. The tide of evil with which the city had been flooded for half a century then began to turn." The leader in this revival was that patriarch among Baptists of Boston, Rev. Dr. Baldwin. The results were about two hundred conversions. The event of 1792 had a similar organic relation to what followed. This occurred in East Haddam, Conn., in the form of an extensive religious interest, conducted by Edward D. Griffin, afterward so eminent, then pastor of the Congregational church in New Salem. It was not long before Mr. Griffin became pastor of a church in New Hartford, Conn., at which place another awakening of great power soon took place under his administration. In both of these neighborhoods similar revivals occurred in many churches. Mr. Griffin became noted as a preacher of great evangelistic ability. He was called to the pastorate of the Park Street Church in Boston, where his intense preaching aided materially in giving to the location of its meeting-house the name of Brimstone Corner. In the lecture-room of that church may be seen the likeness of Dr. Griffin, apparently a large man, with broad, benevolent countenance, amid the likenesses of other illustrious pastors of the church, among whom appears Dr. Edward Beecher.

For four years, about the opening of the present century, a great revival prevailed in Kentucky and Tennessee. It was marked by extraordinary physical manifestations, violent jerkings, bouncings, intense rigidities, and trance conditions of bodies, affected with what was called "the power." At least ten thousand persons were added to the Baptist churches in this awakening. It was then that the Cumberland Presbyterians were separated from the main body of the church. It may be remarked in passing that good authorities credit the Presbyterians in Tennessee and other Southern States as the originators of that peculiar Methodist institution, the camp-meeting.

From this time revivals were frequent here and there. Some of these, especially those which took place in New England, are recounted with great particularity in Humphrey's sketches. In Farmington, Conn., in 1799, 61 professed faith, and in 1821, 250. In Pittsfield, Mass., there were 140 converts in 1821. In many other towns and villages in these States, and in Ver-

mont similar awakenings were experienced. Dr. Finney, writing about the year 1835, speaks of 100,000 who had been added to the Presbyterian churches in the revivals of the preceding ten years. The same preacher in 1831 conducted meetings in the Chatham Street Theatre, in New York, through which 2000 were added to the churches. In 1842 4000 were brought into the churches in Boston. From 1815 to 1840, says Dr. Gardiner Spring, the Spirit was poured out on four hundred to five hundred churches annually, and during several years from forty to fifty thousand made profession of faith each year. "The period from 1792 to 1842 was especially fruitful. There was scarcely any portion of it but that was graciously visited by copious effusions of the Holy Spirit." Bishop Melvaine, of the Episcopal Church, says that about seventy to seventy-five years ago the churches of his own order were accustomed to participate in these revival influences. This fact will seem strange to many readers, accustomed to see Episcopalians standing rigidly aloof from evangelistic movements. Yet it was only four or five years ago that Wall Street poured its brokers and bankers into Trinity Church, crowding it each day at noon to listen to the fervent appeals of Missioner Aitken, from the Established Church of England, and join in his earnest extempore prayers.

The work in various institutions of learning was very important. Under the masterly preaching of President Timothy Dwight, in 1802, in Yale College, hitherto a nest of French infidelity, an intense religious interest was awakened, and 58 young men were converted. By the way, the same institution has not passed beyond the need of similar influences, for in the Sheffield Scientific School a few years ago, when a class was asked who Stephen was, six young men in a row could not tell, and the seventh said he believed he was an Englishman. In Princeton College in 1815, under Dr. Ashbel Green, forty out of one hundred and five young men were converted. At West Point Academy, in 1826, there was a revival in which Bishop Melvaine participated. Readers of the very interesting life of Mary Lyon, well know what a powerful religious influence she exerted in the Holyoke Seminary of which she was the founder and principal. These are but a few among many instances.

## A SECOND REVIVAL WAVE.

The most notable event of the century, however, was the revival of 1857-58, the greatest in American history. Extensive



disasters in the business world had prepared the way for it. The visible agency in its inception was as insignificant as that employed in some other great events. A cow kicked a lamp over and Chicago was burned. A devoted city missionary, Rev. Mr. Lanphier, assembled three others with himself for prayer in New York City and America was set on fire. The meeting grew. In three months it was known throughout the city. It was transferred to the old Dutch church on Fulton Street, long since torn down. It set the pattern for revival services over all the land, as a noonday prayer-meeting for business men. Its method was that of brief, crisp, stirring addresses and prayers. The lay element came to the front. Requests for prayers were sent in numbers to be presented at the meetings, and numerous remarkable answers to prayers thereupon offered were reported. For the first time the newspapers by their extended reports became vigorously helpful to a religious movement. The penitents were observed to find Christ without the long delays and severe struggles that had marked former revivals. The telegraph, with the railroad, gave facilities for rapid communication between distant points never before enjoyed in similar circumstances. The consequence was such a revival as probably the world had never before seen. The country was alive with one spirit and one interest. Five hundred thousand souls are said to have been converted in one year.

Should it be a cause of rejoicing or of sadness that the Fulton Street prayer-meeting is still in existence? Or has it noiselessly died within a year or two? When I visited it, perhaps two years ago, it was thinly attended. Gray-haired men were conducting it. I fancied I could hear the creak of pulleys and cranks in the effort to give it life and spring. Over one entrance there seemed to be written *Ichabod*; over the other, *Nehusthan*; and I wondered whether there were not needed some *Hezekiah* to break in pieces the serpent of brass. When the special means which God has honored in a revival seems to have lost its efficiency, it should not be worshipped. It should be allowed to pass away. He will raise up a new agency in his own time and manner.

Of evangelistic movements since the great revival I shall not attempt to write. Suffice it that they have been such as to complete the record of a hundred years, and to justify the expression, a century of revivals. There are denominations, indeed, in which many churches, from year to year, report not a single conversion. But there are multi-

tudes of churches in which evangelistic methods are steadily pursued, and converts are quietly gathered in by scores and hundreds. Indeed, one of the signs of the times is seen in the fact that revivals which a half century ago would have been put on record as marvellous, now take place almost as matters of course, and are not thought exceptional enough for more than passing mention in the newspaper. Between the years 1850 and 1870 additions to the churches numbered 3,143,408. From 1870 to 1880, one half the time, they numbered 3,392,567. No great land-wide revival is on record during the latter period, but the more than duplicated increase suggests that the fruits of 1857 and 1858 were not alone in the recorded conversions, but in the spiritual impulse as well, which made the following decades a period of luxuriant harvest. America, in its every-day mood, is more alive with Christian enthusiasm now than ever before. The century, from 1800 to 1880, had seen brought into the churches 9,701,091, more than one third of whom had been converted during the previous decade. The increase in population had been in the proportion of nine and a half to one; of church membership, twenty-seven and a half. In 1800 there was one church-member to fifteen of the population; in 1880, one to five.

#### WANTED—AN EXPLANATION.

How shall we account for the marked difference between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries in respect of persistent evangelical power? Shall we refer it by wholesale to the divine sovereignty? So does the Mussulman solve all questions by an appeal to fate and the will of Allah. The divine sovereignty uses methods, and the method in this instance, it seems to me, has been that of an increased intelligence. In quality of thought and of moral feeling nothing can surpass the day of Jonathan Edwards. A nobler, richer mind has not appeared since Augustine. In keenness of intellect and in comprehensiveness he is unsurpassable. Yet, while the logic and the metaphysical acumen of that age were of the highest order, there was room for great improvement in practical intelligence. Men had to learn that Edwards had not summed up all wisdom as to the human will, although his logic was unimpeachable. They had to learn that there are more direct ways of reaching the souls of men for their everlasting good than by the splitting of hairs and the constructing of systems of metaphysical theology. They had to un-

learn the morbid dread that they might do something that would interfere with the sovereignty of God. They had to learn that from the lowest point of creation to the very throne of God there is a continuous ascent, not broken by an abrupt cleavage, which separates the natural from the supernatural; that, therefore, Christianity is the religion of nature. Within the century the Baconian method has been urging its way into the midst of all religious thinking and activity, modifying theology and theories of inspiration, and forcing attention to Jesus Christ as the sum of the religion of the Bible. The Christianity of to-day, without the loss of any share of its divine element, is infinitely more human and correspondingly more effective than that of a hundred years ago.

In one most important respect the point of view has shifted. Dr. A. J. Gordon has called attention to the fact that every religious movement that constitutes a historical epoch has at the heart of it a great idea. In Wickliffe's day the central thought was—the Bible the only authority. In Luther's day it was—justification by faith alone. In Wesley's day, the day of Jonathan Edwards, it was—the witness of the Spirit, bringing a conscious sense that one is a child of God. In our day it is—an objective salvation, a redemption, completed in a crucified and risen Saviour. Through the centuries the Christian world has been working its way to this, the simplest truth of the gospel, the glad tidings which was the power of the preaching of the apostles. Subjectivism in religion breeds mysticism. Introversion breeds morbidness and spiritual egotism. The soul is saved, not by self-examination, by feelings and experience, but by hearing the Lord, crucified and risen, cry with a loud voice to the dead, "Come forth," and by obeying. It is this truth, a completed redemption offered for the sinner's acceptance, that gives to the evangelism of to-day its vitality, and is promising to convert the world.

#### RESULTS OF EVANGELISM.

But that which constitutes the crowning glory of this period I have not yet touched. Out of the heart of this national evangelical movement sprang the great organizations which have done, and are still doing, so much to promote the spread of Christianity. Sunday-school unions, missionary boards, Bible societies, tract societies, and various other associations for organized Christian effort are the direct offspring of the revival spirit. In the extensive revivals which

marked the opening of the century, many of the most noted missionaries were converted—Hall, Newell, Mills, Judson, Nott, Rice, Bingham, King, Thurston, and others. This spirit of revival, in England as well as in America, set in movement the forces which have caused the Bible to be translated into more than two hundred and fifty languages, while heathen lands and isles of the sea are dotted with Christian churches and communities. Surely these great events entitle the hundred years that have passed to be characterized as among the most remarkable since the days of the apostles.

It would be interesting to discuss the lives and characteristics of the great evangelists whom this period has developed—Nettleton, Finney, Knapp, Kirk, Moody, etc. But space is lacking.

The relation of all this to the welfare of our country, its influence upon our destiny and the future of the world, is a topic also forcibly suggested. The magnificent purpose and providence of God can be easily recognized in these special workings of his power in America.

Certainly the conclusion of a century so memorable is worthy of special commemoration. Assuming Dr. Fish's statements to be correct, and I see no reason to question them, bearing in mind also that there were revivals not only among the Baptists of Boston, in 1790, but in Western Pennsylvania, and Southwestern Virginia as well, why shall we not regard the year that is now drawing to a close as the proper centenary? *Cincinnati, December, 1890.*

#### THE MONTH'S MIND.

ANOTHER contested will. The heirs of the late Elizabeth Perkins Fogg, the widow of a merchant of this city who died about seven years ago, are dissatisfied with the disposition that she made of her estate. She devised about six hundred thousand dollars to various institutions of learning and charity, of which \$200,000 was given for the establishment of an art museum in connection with Harvard University. Not much has been published regarding the reasons that the heirs allege for their dissatisfaction, but the reasons are scarcely material to any but themselves. The general question whether it is good policy to encourage or even to permit these contests is not seriously affected by the details of this particular case. In fact, the case is of interest chiefly as emphasizing the conviction, rapidly gaining

ground among the thoughtful portion of the community, that something must be done to prevent the scandal of these increasingly frequent contests. Two views are possible with regard to the testamentary disposition of property, and only two. A testator in sound mind either has or has not the right to decide what shall be done with his property after his death. There is much plausibility in the theory advanced by some that no man has a right to make testamentary provision for the disposition of his property. While a man lives what he has is his own to do with whatsoever he may please; when he dies it is no longer his. He cannot take it out of the world with him, and he has no moral right to decide what shall become of it. He has had it, he has enjoyed it, he is done with it, and now it is for society and not for him to say who shall enjoy it next. Such, we say, is the theory, certainly not without plausibility, of some. But if we reject this theory, as society at present does, in favor of the view that a man has a right to say what shall be done with his property when he has himself ceased to enjoy it, the right should be respected and protected. A system that acknowledges the right and pretends to secure it, while yet it makes it practically impossible for a person of wealth to dispose of his property according to his desire, is certainly an anomalous condition of things. There is no satisfactory half-way house between the denial of testamentary rights and the effectual granting of them. As the case stands at present, no man who is worth enough to make it any object for his heirs to quarrel over his estate can make a will with any certainty that its provisions will be sustained by the courts. This condition of things imposes upon Christian men the duty of being their own executors. Some shrewd and far-seeing men of business have acted upon it. A man of this stamp died only a few days ago. John B. Trevor had been for forty years a well-known business man in Wall Street, where by his shrewdness and probity he had accumulated a large fortune. It was a surprise to some of his friends—not altogether an agreeable one, perhaps—to find that in his will he made few bequests to religious, or charitable, or educational organizations, and these few were trifling in amount. But those who knew anything of his history were aware that during the past twenty years he has been a large and constant giver to educational and religious enterprises. The amount that he has thus given, if it had been bestowed in one sum by will, would have been considered a very

handsome proportion of the fortune that he bequeathed to his heirs. But he chose the better part of giving during his lifetime, while he was able to see the results of his beneficence, and to direct it into the best channels. Moreover, his giving was in many instances so wisely timed as to stimulate the gifts of others; and as a result, it is hardly exaggerating the fact to say, the two institutions of learning that were his chief beneficiaries received, as a direct result of his gifts, two dollars from others for every dollar that he gave. That benefactions bestowed in this way are a wiser form of benevolence than the reluctant bestowal of a small part of that which death is about to wring from one's hands, it will require little argument to convince the judicious.

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It is possible now to form an opinion as to the value of the work done by Father Ignatius, O. B. M., which being interpreted is Order of Benedictine Monks. His "mission" was a nine-days' wonder, hardly that, and then it ceased to attract attention, even in novelty-loving New York. The preacher could not claim the privilege of martyrdom in New York, because the bishop of the diocese had given him a license to preach, but the license was worthless unless rectors would invite him into their pulpits. The Father's preaching soon ceased to attract the crowd. As a sensation the mission was of the mildest character, and its duration was correspondingly brief. What helped, perhaps, as powerfully as anything to kill it was the mendicancy of the preacher, who stationed himself at the door, in monkish fashion, to solicit alms of all the congregation for his monastery. This sort of thing may impress Americans as very picturesque when they are travelling abroad, but they have no use for it at home. In short, the mission contained all the elements of failure and none of the elements of success. The Father has now begun a similar work in Brooklyn, and as Bishop Littlejohn has followed the example of Bishop Paddock in refusing him a license, he will be able again to pose as a martyr.

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As we write these words the probabilities are that the Indian troubles will be over in a few hours. They ought never to have occurred. Evidence has recently transpired that is ample to establish the culpability of the United States Government in permitting matters to come to such an extremity. So long ago as the spring of 1890, information was conveyed by official inspectors to the

United States authorities at Washington that the Indians had not received the supplies of food to which they were entitled under the treaties made with them ; that they had been obliged to kill their domestic stock to supply their wants ; that their crops were likely to prove a failure ; and that the fall and winter would see them reduced to the verge of starvation and desperation. Still nothing was done. It is too soon accurately to apportion the blame for this inaction. The situation has been aggravated by the removal during the past year of old and experienced Indian agents at many of the reservations, and the appointment, for political reasons, of new and untried men. What with violation of treaties by the Government and lack of tact and coolness on the part of officials on the spot, the situation rapidly became worse, until a most serious outbreak was inevitable. The influence of the Messiah craze in producing the disturbance has doubtless been greatly exaggerated. It was shrewdly utilized by a few crafty chiefs like Sitting Bull, because it afforded them a means of prosecuting their own designs, but it had no real part in producing the disaffection of the Indians, or in causing their revolt. There can be no question that the grievance of the Indians is a genuine one. The story of the wrongs of this race is a long one, and forms a most disgraceful chapter in the history of our country. We are in this respect no better than our sires ; on the contrary, we are continuing to the best of our ability the policy of mingled fraud and violence that disgraces the past.

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THE University of Chicago, to which allusion has already been made in these notes as an institution that will begin its career with an endowment of at least two-and-a-half millions, will be organized upon a plan that is novel in many of its particulars. It will justify its title of university by providing for graduate instruction in schools of divinity, law, medicine, engineering, pedagogy, fine arts and music as rapidly as these various schools can be established. In the mean time, it will not neglect to provide what is yet more needed in the West, undergraduate instruction. It will do this, not by means of one college with varied courses of study, but by establishing a group of colleges, each providing instruction in what Harvard and Yale denominate "courses." There will be, for example, a college of liberal arts, a college of science, a college of literature and a college of practical arts, and others may be added. This

combination of the European university and the American college will, in itself, be to some extent a novelty, but the system of instruction is an even greater departure from all established precedents. The year will be divided into four equal quarters of two terms each, with one week vacation between the terms. A student may enter at the beginning of either quarter, and he may take a vacation of one quarter in any part of the year. By pursuing his studies the year round, taking only the vacations between terms, he may finish his course and take his degree in three years, or if he chooses he may take more than four years to complete the course. If he is obliged to support himself, in whole or in part, he can select for his vacation that portion of the year when his labor will be most profitable to himself. Studies will be divided into "majors" and "minors," a major being so called because a student devotes two hours of recitation a day to that study and to a minor one. He will take a major and a minor in each term. This concentration of labor, it is believed, will enable students to do more and better work than if their attention was frittered away by division among a large number of studies. The student's standing will be determined by his term grade in the class-room work and by two examinations, one passed at the conclusion of the term and the other twelve weeks later. If his standing is sufficiently high, he will not be required to take the first examination, and for the second he may substitute new material in the same department equal in amount to one quarter of the term's work. It is believed that this method will avoid the dangers and abuses of the examination system, since it offers every inducement to do solid work, and discourages cram. When we add to this that no student will be admitted on certificate, but must pass an examination, and that no honorary degree will be conferred, it is evident that we have outlined a system of education having many new and attractive features. It has received the commendation of educational authorities of the highest rank, and its practical operation will be watched with the greatest interest. The work of professors is regulated on a plan equally novel and praiseworthy. Each professor is required to lecture thirty-six weeks, ten to twelve hours a week, and is entitled to a vacation of twelve weeks at any time in the year, as he may arrange with the dean of his college or school. By arrangement he may lecture beyond this requirement, receiving therefor a *pro rata* addition either



to pay or vacation. By lecturing three years of forty-eight weeks each, or six years of forty-two weeks each, he becomes entitled to a year's leave of absence on full pay. A professor will thereby, without overtaxing himself to obtain it, have at least every seventh year to travel and study abroad, or in any other way to perfect himself in his own department. In addition to the work of the university thus far described, there is to be a department of publication that will issue bulletins of information, books and essays written by the faculty and students of the university. Other features of the plan are university extension by means of evening courses on college and university subjects, delivered by professors in and about Chicago for the benefit of men and women engaged during the day; correspondence courses for students in all parts of the country; special courses at the university in the scientific study of the Bible; and still further avenues of usefulness may be expected to open when the institution has been fairly established. There has certainly been no plan proposed in the recent history of American educational institutions that has awakened more hopeful interest than this.

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THE country has had such a surfeit of heresy trials that, for the most part, little attention is paid to the doings of ecclesiastical tribunals. We have noted, within the past month, a half-dozen cases of this sort, and in only one instance have the daily newspapers considered them worth more than a "stickful" of type. The case of the Rev. Howard MacQueary must be allowed to be exceptionally important. The issue that he had deliberately chosen to make was nothing less than the binding authority of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Mr. MacQueary denied the inerrancy of the Scriptures, the incarnation and resurrection of Christ (in any material sense), and in general eliminated the supernatural element from Christianity. It is true that he maintained his belief in the incarnation and resurrection, in miracle and the supernatural, in a sense of his own; but he did not profess to hold these truths as they are taught in the Articles of Religion and the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which he is a presbyter. He was not content with preaching these things in the comparative privacy of a country parish, in which case the offence might have been condoned because of its obscurity, but he printed them in a book and sent it forth for the world to read. Such a challenge

could not be disregarded by any self-respecting church, unless it was willing at once to proclaim to the world that its clergy might deny anything without fear of molestation. Mr. MacQueary having thrown his glove into the arena, the Bishop of Ohio had no choice but to take it up, and a trial for heresy necessarily followed. The facts were beyond dispute; all the evidence was documentary on both sides; the question resolved itself into one of church law. The argument of the accused was ingenious. He held that he had performed his duty according to his ordination vows, which bound him to test the creeds by the Scriptures and to follow the latter. He further held that he had departed no further from the faith than many clergymen of his church who are tolerated, and offered in evidence a sermon by a well-known and erratic churchman of New York. Pending the decision of the court, there is an obvious propriety in closing our review of the case at this point.

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SINCE the delivery of the judgment in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, the extreme ritualists have followed the example of that prelate in omitting the sign of the cross in the absolution, the mixing of the chalice before the people, and other observances declared illegal. The Primate has made an unofficial suggestion of a *modus vivendi* in those parishes where an ornate ritual is observed, contrary to the wishes of a considerable part of the people. The archbishop declares that in such cases it is the bounden duty of the clergy, wherever an elaborate ceremonial is the rule, to provide at the most convenient hours, "especially on the first Sunday in the month and at the most frequented hour, administrations of the Holy Communion which shall meet in all ways the desire of those parishioners whose sense of devotion seeks and feeds on the plain and quiet solemnities in which they have been reared, which they love, and in which their souls most perfectly 'go in and out and find pasture.'" This novel idea of a double "use" in the same parish has the merit of giving due weight to the conscientious scruples of communicants, but does it give weight enough to the conscientious convictions of the incumbent, supposing that he has any?

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AN interesting experiment in denominational co-operation is now fairly under way in Maine, and its results will be noted with interest by all Christians. There is nothing more doleful in the New England village

than six struggling churches where there is room, at most, for two. The same duplication of churches has more or less characterized the newer States as they have been settled, and is even now going on in the newest sections of the West. Frantic appeals are made to denominational pride not to be left behind in the race for occupying the most desirable towns. Chapels and churches are built by misguided people in the East far in advance of the wants of the people, not for the glory of God, but for the glory of this or that church. All religious bodies are about equally sinners in this policy, or if any one is less a sinner, the fact is due to poverty rather than to superior virtue. It is fitting that from New England, where this kind of denominationalism has gone to seed, should come a movement for reform—a conference representing Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Free Baptists and Christians. After a free interchange of opinion, it was voted as their judgment that the churches ought to co-operate according to the plans of the Evangelical Alliance; that missionary work ought to be carried on in the same spirit; that there should be frequent conferences by official representatives of missionary organizations for this purpose; and that the four denominations represented be requested to appoint delegates at their next annual meetings to confer further as to ways and means of co-operation. "Ways and means" will present little difficulty to those who are actuated by this spirit. In nothing is the old adage truer than in denominational co-operation—where there's a will there's a way. We look to see important practical results follow the honest application of the principles thus enunciated to church work in the smaller towns of Maine. There may be much real religious destitution in a place where churches abound.

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THAT was a happy thought of a Brooklyn citizen, a man of substance and (one hopes) a Christian also, to erect his wife's monument in the form of a building devoted to the uses of the Young Women's Christian Association of the City of Churches. In Mrs. Helen O. Wood that institution lost one of its devoted friends, but a husband worthy of such a woman survived her, and continues her work. The sum of \$125,000 is pledged for this building, an amount ample to ensure a large, solid, well-appointed structure; and the association is fortunate in possessing a fine site, the gift of a previous benefactor, the late S. B. Chittenden. The sole condition of the gift is that other friends of the association shall provide an

endowment fund of \$100,000, to provide for the care of the property and the carrying on of the general work. That the endowment will be given cannot be doubted. This work is henceforth solidly based, and will go on with ever-increasing sweep of beneficence. There can be no longer question, as there was for a time in the minds of some, whether Christian Associations for young women are needed. Nothing succeeds like success, and the success of the Association in New York and Brooklyn ought to lead to the founding of branches in other large cities.

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THE scheme for the relief and reformation of the outcast portion of England, outlined in General Booth's book *In Darkest England*, meets with less favor the more it is analyzed and weighed. The character of General Booth and the nature of his organization are now clearly seen to be factors in the problem that cannot be overlooked. The probable character of his successor and the future of the Salvation Army must also be taken into account. The sentimental side of the book, with its adroit appeals to the sympathies, had a powerful effect at first, an effect that from the nature of the case spent itself at once. Effusive responses of interest and good will came immediately from many sources, with the addition of not a few noted names, but hard cash came in slowly, and soon may not come in at all. As the scheme is subjected to keen scrutiny, the doubt grows whether it is sound, and also whether, if sound, General Booth can be trusted to administer it. The "balance sheets" issued periodically from the headquarters of the Army show that the financial management of that body is queer, to say the least. Funds that should be kept carefully separate, and conscientiously applied to the purposes for which they are contributed, have been "pooled" in a common fund, from which the Army's expenses must first be paid. The danger is that the money contributed by confiding persons for the benevolent work of the Army will be converted to the support of what Mr. Huxley wittily calls "corybantic Christianity." The withdrawal from the Army of the man who is generally believed to have been the life and soul of the social reform work of the Army, and the inspirer of the best parts of the book of which the General was but the putative author, does not tend to strengthen confidence in the scheme.

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ONE of the consequences of holding the Columbian Exposition in Chicago is likely

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to be an almost complete secularization of the Lord's Day throughout the West, and to a less degree its secularization in every part of the United States. The influx of foreign visitors will be considerable, and still larger will be the number of visitors who are nominally Americans, but are really foreigners. Those who bring Germany, or France, or Italy with them when they come to this country to find freedom denied them where they were born, what are they but foreigners, even though they have gone through the forms of naturalization, and can cast a ballot with the best of us? These foreigners have no love for the Sabbath of America. They love the Continental Sunday, with its feasting and merry-making, its junketing and visiting, its bands of music and its beer-gardens. This will be the American Sunday of a generation hence, unless Christian people bestir themselves. Indeed, we sometimes wonder whether it is not too late to withstand successfully the drift in this direction. At any rate, we have little hope that the Columbian Exposition can be closed on Sunday, though it is well that various Christian organizations are using all their influence to that end. The Commissioners are likely to feel most strongly the pressure of local influence, and that influence will be overwhelmingly in favor of the Sunday opening of the grounds and buildings. Something might be hoped for through the intervention of Congress, but a canvass of that body shows it to be too evenly divided to make such action at all probable. This probable disregard of Sunday as a day of rest during the continuance of the Exposition is as much to be regretted for hygienic and moral reasons as on religious grounds. To the Christian it is, of course, nothing less than desecration of a sacred day. To the enlightened statesman, whether Christian or not, it is the destruction of a beneficent social institution. The need of a periodic rest-day is written in the physical and moral constitution of man; and violation of that law will be followed by the inevitable penalty, deterioration. The American State, in making laws regarding the observance of Sunday, cannot take into account its sacred character in the eyes of some; but it can and does take account of its necessity to all for the maintenance of physical and moral health. The practical abrogation of the laws providing for rest from ordinary labor on Sunday, if it shall prove to be an abrogation and not merely a suspension, will certainly have grave consequences on the character of the American people of the twentieth century.

## LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

A CLASS-BOOK OF BIBLICAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY. With numerous maps. By Professor H. S. OSBORN, LL.D. New York: American Tract Society, 1890. 12mo, pp. 312, \$1.25.

This volume is tastefully printed from new type, and it is easy to find any topic that is treated in its chronological order on account of the use of heavy-faced type by which the introduction of each subject is noted. The author has attempted to outline the history of the biblical books, and in so doing he has followed the order of the books more or less closely. From the Preface one is led to expect to find some treatment of the interval between the close of the Old Testament Canon and the birth of Christ, but in vain. What is there said has no reference to the external history of the Jewish people, but only to the growth of their traditions and learning based on the Old Testament Scriptures, as embodied in the Talmud. The Maccabees do not come in for even passing mention. The history of the Old Testament, with some notice of the nations surrounding Israel, the life of Christ and the history of the Apostolic Church are treated in brief sections and in terse, short sentences. The author has purposed to exclude all matter of speculation, and has endeavored to confine himself to the statement of pure fact. He has succeeded in making a book that may be of value to teachers in Sabbath-schools and to the pupils in Bible-classes, but it will scarcely prove itself of prime importance to ministers or theological students, except as giving a very brief statement of some of the facts in the case.

Exception may be taken to some of the statements as being loose or misleading. One of these is on page 86, where it is said, "The treasure city Pithom, mentioned with Ramesses in the first chapter of Exodus (verse 11), was in Succoth, as a recent discovery has shown." Succoth and Pithom were the civil and religious name of one and the same place. In this same connection it may be remarked that the map of "Sinai and the Desert of the Wanderings," at the close of the volume, is not at all in accord with the text. It is an old map made years ago, before the explorations of the Egypt Fund cleared up what had always been an obscure point. It represents Pithom at the western end of the Wadi Tumilat, near Heliopolis, with Ramesses half way between it and the line of the Suez Canal. Heroöpolis again is placed between Ramesses and the canal, while Succoth-Etham is on the Bitter Lakes! It is surprising that such locations should have been allowed to remain. The fact is that Succoth, Pithom, and Heroöpolis were names that attached to the same place at different periods, and that place was located about eleven miles from the Suez Canal in the Wadi Tumilat. If one will compare the narrative of the first days of the Exodus with this map, one will be led to favor the old tradition as to the place of crossing the Red Sea, perhaps; but the facts, as revealed by later investigation, make the acceptance of that theory much more difficult. The distance from the real Succoth to Suez is far too great to have been traversed by such a multitude as that which accompanied Moses in the time allotted to the journey.

The sentence on page 57, "During this period fortifications were erected on the northeastern frontier of Egypt, which appear to have extended across the whole of the present isthmus of Suez (Socin),

The term *Shur*, used six times in Scripture, is now supposed to refer to this "wall." If by "wall" is meant a continuous structure, the statement is certainly not probable or in accordance with the well-known facts derived from Egyptian monuments and papyri. That there was a succession of forts and defences against incursions by dwellers in the desert, has been admitted all along, but a "wall" is not proved to have existed, and is more than doubtful.

It is a pity that the book has no index. If one wishes to read it rapidly, to get a quick survey of the field, it may be done with a varying degree of satisfaction; but for a book of reference, the volume has far less of value than it might have had if it had contained a full index.

C. R. GILLET.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

**WENDELL PHILLIPS, THE AGITATOR.** With an Appendix containing three of the Orator's Masterpieces, never before published in book form, viz., "The Lost Arts," "Daniel O'Connell," "The Scholar in a Republic." By CARLOS MARTYN, D.D. (Forming Vol. I. of "American Reformers," a series of twelve biographies, edited by Carlos Martyn, D.D.) New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890. 12mo, 600 pp., cloth, \$1.50.

A great subject is here treated by one who brings to his task enthusiasm and warm appreciation, but who lacks somewhat the gifts of style and artistic taste. It is possible that much of that which seems thus lacking in refinement of thought and nicety of expression is purposely made so by the author, in order to attract attention and impress his thought. But it is to be regretted that the proprieties of the case were not more carefully observed, and the life of the most finished orator of America given with as faultless a style as could be brought to the task. The author has gathered with great diligence the significant facts of Phillips's life and times, and has interpreted these facts sympathetically and, on the whole, with genuine force and insight. Not a little of interest and value is gained by permitting Phillips to speak for himself on every important theme. Those rare days of the Anti-Slavery agitation of which Phillips was the almost inspired orator and leader, "the brave days of old," are made to live before us with all their stir, and high aspirations, and dramatic crises. No one can read these pages without being impressed anew and profoundly by the deep meanings and glorious issues with which those decades were instinct; and the author's un concealed admiration for the character and genius and influence of the great man he sets before us, becomes contagious. After all needful discounts have been made, we cannot fail to reckon Phillips an exceptional and providential man, in gifts and career, raised up for the times on which he fell and for the glorious work he wrought, as truly as Luther, or Cromwell, or Lincoln. His unique position, outside of political parties and in free criticism of whatever cause came before him, will always seem to some seriously to modify the value of his example and the weight of his influence; while to many this fact will rather be taken as an intrinsic part of the career and service he was providentially called to achieve, a striking proof of the rare elevation and unselfishness of his character. The steadfast faith in God and loyalty to His Word which so strikingly characterize this man and distinguish him from many of his associates, are never to be forgotten or overlooked. This is a life and character which form an intrinsic part of

the nation's wealth, and which we may wish all our youth should know and admire and gather hence a stronger impulse toward the brave, unselfish spirit and heroic deeds which redeem manhood from littleness and the age from shame. Defects in this man there undoubtedly were; mistakes he certainly made; none knew this better than himself. But in the galaxy of great and gifted men who belong to this century, and whose names are forever associated with the struggle for liberty which culminated in the War for the Union and the enfranchisement of the freedmen, not one will be found more pure in life, more exalted in aim, or more worthy of lasting remembrance than Wendell Phillips, the great Orator of the Anti-Slavery cause.

JUDSON SMITH.

BOSTON, MASS.

**THE OLD DOCUMENTS AND THE NEW BIBLE.** An easy lesson for the people in Biblical Criticism. By J. PATERSON SMYTH, LL.B., B.D. The Old Testament. James Pott & Co., New York. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, Limited. Pp. xvi. and 216. \$1.00.

This little book is a well-meant attempt to introduce the English reader to the mysteries of Biblical Criticism. The criticism treated, however, is not the literary criticism, or higher criticism of the Old Testament. The author devotes himself altogether to the subject of criticism of the text. The title is especially misleading, because by "documents" we now so generally understand the works from which many biblical books were compiled, and into which we may analyze them. He who goes to the book before us for light on questions of internal criticism will be disappointed. It may be useful, however, to any one who wishes to know what the process of transmission has been.

The writer treats the Hebrew writing in two chapters, and then defines Biblical (*i.e.*, Textual) Criticism. He gives some account of the Hebrew manuscripts and of the Massoretes. The Samaritan Pentateuch, the Talmud and Targums, the Septuagint, the Syriac and the Vulgate are each treated in a chapter, and some specimens of criticism, as seen in the work of the revisers, are given. Several facsimiles adorn the work.

The critic of this criticism will put a query opposite some statements. Why should the Shapira incident be recounted afresh? Is it true that "Not one of the good fathers of the Council of Trent knew a word of Hebrew?" Why should it be thought "curious" that Josephus, who wrote in Greek, should occasionally be influenced by the LXX? Can it fairly be said that "quotations from the Bible in ancient Jewish commentaries" are real sources for criticism of the text?

Misleading is the account of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotian in that it does not emphasize the extremely fragmentary character of what has come down to us of these versions. The author thinks "Jerome had probably manuscripts before him of an earlier date than the days of our Lord," but gives no evidence for the opinion. He assumes much, indeed, for which there is no evidence, as that, in Samuel's day, the Law at least, "would naturally be kept with the Ark in Shiloh." He asserts that all Samuel's teaching was "based upon these Scripture records, and probably that the knowledge of them might be preserved and disseminated he founded his theological colleges or Schools of the Prophets." Further we read that two of the oldest of the prophetic books, Hosea and Jonah, were the work of men trained in the



schools of Elijah, and afterward no writing was received as inspired unless it could claim a prophet for its author. It must be evident to any one acquainted with the facts, that all these assertions are quite beyond the evidence at our command. Severe self-restraint is important for the critic above almost all other men.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
CINCINNATI, O.

PRÄKTIISCHE THEOLOGIE, von Dr. E. CHR. ACHELIS, Prof. an der Universität Marburg. Erster Band: Einleitung; Die Lehre von der Kirche und ihren Aemtern; Katechetik; Homiletik; Poimenik. Freiburg i.-B.: Mohr. New York: Stechert, 1890. Pp. xvi., 549. 8vo, 2 mk.

A work of high order of excellence, wrought out on the basis of Lutheran doctrine and cultus, intended, when complete, to cover all departments of Practical Theology, possessing the thoroughness, completeness, and critical accuracy which characterize German authorship, and free from any traces of unbelief or rationalism. The Introduction is historical. It traces the opinions respecting Practical Theology held in past ages, onward to Schleiermacher; then lays stress on the service rendered this branch of study by Schleiermacher and Nitzsch.

Practical Theology is defined to be "none other than the Doctrine respecting the activity of the Church for her own edification" (p. 25). This includes missionary work at home and in foreign lands (pp. 16-18).

The entire material is treated in six Books: I. The Church and her Offices; II. The Holy Activity of the Church in three subdivisions: regarding children and youth (Catechetics); regarding the adult membership (Homiletics); and regarding single individuals among youth and adults, or the special cure of souls (Poimenics); III. The authorized Offices of Cultus (Liturgies); IV. Public Worship; V. Voluntary associations in the interest of missions, home and foreign; and VI. The doctrine of Church Government (p. 29). This first volume contains only two Books.

The entire treatment proceeds on the principle that it is the vocation of the Church to hold fast the truth committed to her trust by Christ, and to actualize the Christian salvation in all her members; so that what the Church is in idea she may become in reality, a *holy* communion.

The Church is the community of believers, all of whom are priests and kings. Ministers are the representatives of believers; ordination sets them apart for the performance of particular acts in the service of the congregation (pp. 110, 112); the line being sharply drawn between the Roman Catholic and the Evangelical conception of the ministry.

Each Book opens with a history of the Doctrine treated, beginning with the post-Apostolic age; and it is accompanied with an irenical criticism of divergent opinions. So of the three subdivisions of Book second, which gives a succinct history of Catechetics, Homiletics, and Pastoral Theology (Poimenics); including the ministry, infant baptism, catechization, confirmation, the sermon and homily, preaching, the preacher, public prayer, administration of sacraments, confession, absolution, the pastor, pastoral visitation, with all phases of ministerial and pastoral work, not omitting details as to dress, deportment at weddings, and the beard (p. 470). The oldest work on Homiletics is the Fourth Book of *Christian Doctrine*, by Augustine. The end of oratory according to Cicero is

threefold: docere, delectare, flectare (move), which Augustine improves by maintaining that the end of preaching is but *one*: ut veritas probet, veritas placeat, veritas moveat (pp. 281, 343).

This work, when finished, will be a valuable contribution to Practical Theology; more comprehensive, more minute (blending the theoretical and practical), than anything of the sort extant in English. Its criticisms are judicious; the historical portion is developed from the sources; and the entire discussion is earnest, evangelical, dignified, and pervaded throughout by fidelity to Christ and devotion to the kingdom of God.

E. V. GERHART.

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LANCASTER, PA.

ZWINGLI'S THEOLOGIE. Ihr Werden und ihr System dargestellt von AUGUST BAUR, Dr. Theol. Halle: Max Niemeyer. New York: Stechert. Vol. I., pp. viii., 543, 1885; Vol. II., pp. x., 864, 1889. Large 8vo. 9 mk.

Inspired by the example of Köstlin and of Herrlinger, who have given us accounts of the development of the theologies of Luther and Melancthon, respectively, Baur has sought in this volume to trace minutely, through all the steps of his career, the growth of Zwingli's theological ideas, and then to review them summarily in systematic form, as far as the preceding work has not rendered this superfluous. He thus passes in review, first, the period in which Zwingli was gaining his general education at Wesen, Basel, and Bern, in which the contributions of Humanism to the progress of the future Reformer appear even more clearly than in the case of Luther. From his closing studies at Vienna, Zwingli passed to the position of a teacher at Basel, and at the same time began the study of theology. The next period, from Basel to Zurich, while he was at Glarus and Einsiedeln as pastor and preacher, was a time of further study, in which he became acquainted not only with the Greek New Testament, which gave the Biblical character to his work afterward so marked, but also with the history of the heresies of the Middle Ages. His dependence upon Erasmus is brought out by Baur with new force. He stood in close connection with all the movements of his time, reading the letters of the "obscure men," and thus taking part in all the preparatory contests of the day. Arrived in Zurich, he began his labors, and for a time was absorbed in the regular preaching of the Word, which he founded upon the text of the New Testament. He had already taken position with respect to Luther, whom he regarded as the noble protagonist of the Reformation, but whose tumultuous ways were in entire contrast with his own more quiet and regular advance in the knowledge of the truth.

With the first disputation in Zurich begins the more characteristic portion of the book, the portion which contains, in intimate connection with the account of each event, the fullest analysis of the works written by Zwingli, in which the processes of his mind are so clearly presented that a knowledge of them is a knowledge of Zwingli himself. In fact, Baur from this point may be said to have given us a *résumé*, mostly in the very words of Zwingli, of his entire works, making their perusal, except for the scholar in pursuit of the most minute knowledge, quite unnecessary. It is interesting to note that in his first occasional publication, "Von Erkiesen und Freiheit der Speisen" Zwingli covered essentially the whole outline of Christian

theology. The chief thought brought out was the freedom of the Church under the Gospel from the prescriptions of men. This was a rupture with the Papal Church, and was completed in the "Archeteles," and then Zwingli advanced to the defence of the "clearness" of the word of God, and to an attack upon the worship paid to the Virgin. To the term "Gospel" he already gave that broad signification which made it include "all which has made men certain of the will of God."

With the close of the two disputations at Zurich, Zwingli found himself in possession of a scheme of theology which he embodied in his "Commentary of True and False Religion." Marked by certain liberal tendencies, as it was, it nevertheless based theology upon a conception of God's providence which robbed all second causes of reality. Predestination was absolute, and all freedom of the will was absolutely denied. In this he agreed formally with Luther, and doubtless in both cases their antagonism to the prevailing semi-Pelagianism of Rome decided their theological view. But Luther was as practical in this matter as Zwingli was philosophical. The progress of events soon hurried the two reformers into that contest upon the sacrament which was to consume so much of their time and to leave them and their followers separated into two hostile camps. Baur makes it very clear that the difference sprang from a fundamental difference as to the general view (*reformatorische Anschauung*) which they had of theology and of their proper work. Luther made his experience of Christian truth the proximate source of his doctrine, though the Scriptures were the supreme source. In the matter of the sacrament he was so involved in conceptions of grace in relation to the Eucharist that he was scarcely able to come to the text of the Scriptures with complete candor of mind. Zwingli, on the contrary, derived his view much more objectively from the Bible. Baur vindicates the originality of Zwingli's form of conceiving the doctrine against those who have referred it to the communication of Hoen. The great conscientiousness of our author is worthy at this point of special commendation, for he has traced the statement of Zwingli's opinions through all the various treatises in which they are found, most minutely. Thus he brings us to the contest with Luther in person, both by tract and at Marburg, through all the previous discussion where Zwingli had avoided bringing in Luther's personality.

The great body of the work is occupied with these detailed studies; but in the last hundred pages, Baur discusses the theological system of Zwingli. In opposition to the mediæval view which the Roman Church held, his was humanistic, which appeared particularly in the emphasis he laid upon the Bible; but it was not aristocratic, like humanism in general, but rather animated by a true sympathy with the people. It was also strictly evangelical, which humanism was not, and viewed the Gospel as the revelation of salvation through Jesus Christ, basing its conceptions upon the objective revelation in the Scriptures. Faith was to Zwingli a highly spiritual process, which was not attached to anything sensuous, and needed no sensuous means of communication. Hence his objections to the Lutheran doctrine of the Supper, and to the doctrine of free-will, which he viewed as the source of the system of salvation by works which pervaded the Roman Church. There is no attempt made by Baur to describe the system of Zwingli in consecutive and developed form. Zwingli never wrote anything which can be regarded

as a full development of it. But the different types of his systematic presentations are reviewed, as in the 67 *Schlussreden* where the three great points of view are (1) The Gospel as the only source of salvation; (2) Christ the only Saviour, divinely sent; (3) The Church as the visible and invisible communion within which there is salvation. In the "Christliche Einleitung" the point of view adopted is the antithesis of sin and grace, law and gospel. These views are combined in the "Commentarius." Thus, as a whole, Zwingli is shown to be the leader of that tendency which has maintained itself in the Reformed churches to this day, to make the Scriptures eminently the source of Christian doctrine and to hold radically to the type of religious life presented there, though without converting them into a new law.

We have already said enough of the characteristics of the work to spare our readers further words of praise. In general it may be said to be a faithful digest of Zwingli's complete works.

F. H. FOSTER.

OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

DAS LUKAS-EVANGELIUM UND DIE APOSTELGESCHICHTE, WERKE DESSELBEN VERFASSERS. Von J. FRIEDRICH. Halle a. S.: Kaemmerer, 1890. Pp. ii., 104. 8vo.

This little book is an excellent example of the microscopic character of German study. An acknowledged help in the author's examination is Bruder's Concordance, and out of 103 pages of text, 62 are devoted to the material gained from the employment of that work. In this part are considered the usages of individual words, words found in Luke's Gospel and in the Acts and not elsewhere, circumlocutions, stylistic peculiarities, resemblances in particular sentences in the two books, and the words used in the introduction to the Acts. The rest of the examination is concerned with the resemblance of certain parts of the subject matter of the Gospel and the Acts, treated under twenty-four heads. Mention of these will show the scope of the book. They are: the manner of relating circumstances attending the Ascension, the catalogue of the Apostles, the trial and death of Jesus and Stephen, appearances of angels, the opposition of wealth and poverty, the parallels of the substitution of Paul for Saul, and of Peter for Simon in the Acts and in the Gospel, the author's fondness for speaking of kings and exalted personages, the rush of the people to see and hear Jesus and Paul, the frequency of prayers in both books, narratives of accomplished deeds and experiences, resemblances in conduct in Peter and Paul, Luke's personal character, the double mention of names (as in "Jerusalem, Jerusalem"), narratives of weeping, blind and lame beggars, wonder-working causes, fear and praise of God, mention of pantomime (Winken) and of eating and drinking, fondness in both books for mention of brightness and lightning, specification of the language of a speaker, observance of the Mosaic law, Luke's treatment of the Gentiles, the motive of a miracle (*e.g.*, the only daughter of Jairus was healed), and Jesus named from his birthplace. It will thus be seen that the book is something more than a mere repetition of acknowledged facts. There is here a real contribution to learning. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Zeller's "Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung" and to Baur's "Paulus." He has, however, done more than abstract from those authors. He has done good service in bringing together characteristics

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which, when pointed out, are striking. Especially is this the case when he parallels with the introduction of the name Paul in Acts xiii. 9, and the use of that name thereafter, the introduction of the name Peter in Luke v. 8 and vi. 14. Some points are unduly pressed, as in the supposed resemblance between the trial and death of Jesus and that of Stephen, and in the rush to see and hear Jesus and Paul. The author may not have meant to furnish an argument to those who claim as the motive of the Acts a desire to exalt Paul and his party as against Peter, but his section on the resemblance of the doings of Peter and Paul have that tendency. The book will doubtless prove useful, as in a small space it indicates the principal grounds for concluding that the Gospel according to St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are the work of the same author.

GEORGE W. GILMORE.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

DER HEILIGE GEIST IN DER HEILSVERKÜNDIGUNG DES PAULUS. Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung. Von JOHANNES GLOL. Halle: Niemeyer, 1888. 8vo, pp. viii., 402, 7 mk.

This book is one of those thorough discussions of a special point in biblical theology which are peculiar to German theological literature. Its aim is to give a complete statement of the Pauline conception of the Holy Spirit in its relation to the work of redemption through Christ. The author claims that, while the subject has been frequently treated, its importance as a part of Biblical theology has not been sufficiently recognized, and its treatment has been too largely determined by the anthropological standpoint. While a thorough understanding of the Pauline conception of the *ἀγῶς* is valuable, still it does not give us positive results as to the significance of the *πνεῦμα*. It leaves in the background the relation of the Spirit to the objective basis of salvation in Christ, and, therefore, exhibits but a section of what is implied by the Spirit in the Pauline theology. This fault the author endeavors to avoid by approaching the subject from the soteriological standpoint. St. Paul was not occupied with speculations as to the abstract nature of God, nor with psychological judgments as to the nature of man, but with the practical experience and knowledge of God in Christ as the power of human salvation. From this standpoint he spoke and wrote of the Holy Spirit, and from this standpoint we can best judge of the force of his expressions. Accepting as sources of knowledge, in opposition to the critical tendencies of the day, all the Pauline epistles, the author enters upon a careful exegetical study of all the passages relating to the Holy Spirit. He discusses first the reception of the Spirit as a fact of Christian experience, with its presuppositions in the general history of life, and in the history of redemption in particular, and with its means of communication through the Word and Baptism, on the one hand, and through faith on the other hand. Then, in the second part, he treats of the indwelling and operation of the Spirit in believers and in the Church. The whole discussion is carried on in a calm and scholarly manner, and while no especially new points are brought out, and while many modern views are rejected, the result is a clear and well-connected exposition of the great lines of St. Paul's thought.

The results to which the studies of the author lead, as to St. Paul's conception of the nature of the Spirit and of His relation to God and to Christ, are summed up at the end in a few pages of concise and clear statement. If we have expected an exact

and direct definition of the Holy Spirit from St. Paul we shall be disappointed, for the Apostle views the Spirit from the plane of real life. For him the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of life, of the life of God, which is given to believers in Christ. And as life is experienced rather than defined, so for St. Paul the Spirit is known by experience and not by abstract terms. The author, therefore, has not attempted to formulate a Pauline definition of the Spirit, but to introduce his readers to the living intuitions which St. Paul, in his own Christian experience, has gained of the power and operation of the Spirit. In this line, however, certain positive results have been obtained which enable us to get some clear idea of what St. Paul's doctrine of the Spirit is. As in the Old Testament the Spirit of God is the divine breath of life, by which the creation is animated, so in the New Testament the *πνεῦμα* is the internally animating and vitalizing force, the breath of life, in which God communicates to the children of men in need of salvation His heavenly life-force. In this view the *πνεῦμα* stands in constant sharp contrast to the *σάρξ*, and in the inner personal life this contrast appears in the contrast between divine wisdom and human foolishness, childlike joy and slavish fear. The operations of the Spirit as facts of experience are therefore influences in opposition to the flesh, but at the same time are in their positive significance the work of the Messiah who was manifested in the flesh, and glorified through His death and resurrection. The office of the Spirit is to apply Christ's work of salvation to sinful man, and to bring His heavenly life to concrete form in believers. For St. Paul, therefore, the Spirit was neither the metaphysical substance of the Infinite, nor a celestial, supersensible Matter, nor the sum of the various supernatural operations of the divine power. The Spirit is a vital fact, having its own objective reality; it is the active power of life, by which God in Christ lives in the believer. And with this objective reality is connected the idea of personality. For the distinguishing mass of personal life is action accompanied by conscious volition, and, according to St. Paul, the Christian experiences the influences of the Spirit as personal influences exerted upon him. The life in the Spirit is for him a life of personal interchange between the faithful child of God and the Spirit of God, who offers grace, power, and life. But St. Paul does not in this way exalt the Holy Spirit as a personality into a position of independence by the side of God and Christ. Instead of this he teaches that the Christian experiences in the very influences which proceed from the Spirit the influences of the ascended Lord, and the self-witness of the Father. And yet the Spirit is not entirely lost in Christ and the Father, as merely a term for the sum of the effects which they produce. St. Paul makes a distinction between the Lord who was sent in the flesh and who was raised from the dead, and the Spirit poured out into the hearts of the faithful. In brief, his thought was that the love of God comes to its objective historical representation to the world in Christ crucified, and finds in the Spirit its living self communication to the hearts of men. So that in the Spirit Christ's life is transferred into the lives of His followers. As St. Paul's purpose was not philosophical, but practical, he has nothing to say directly as to God's immanent essence and the internal relation of the Spirit to Father and Son in the Trinity. His confidence and joy lay in the conviction that God had reconciled the world to Himself in the Son, and in the Spirit enables us to share in that reconciliation, and that we as redeemed in Jesus Christ have free access to the Fa-

ther in the Spirit. The Spirit which rules in Christians springs from God and leads to God. He brings Christ near to the heart, and raises the heart up to Christ. As the force of the divine life He sets the believer free from contamination with the transitory nature of the flesh and the world, and makes him a sharer in the eternal life of God. This expresses St. Paul's conviction of the positive significance and position of the Spirit of God in the work of salvation.

However we may differ from the author's critical position, and much as we may question some of his conclusions, his book is a solid and valuable contribution to Biblical Theology, and is well worthy of careful and studious attention.

H. RICHARD HARRIS.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

**THE VOICES OF THE PSALMS.** By W. PAKENHAM WALSH, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1890. 8vo, pp. xii., 333, \$1.50.

It is a most difficult task for a specialist in any subject, to whom the technical expressions of his science are as familiar as our A B C, to forget these terms and names for a while and express his thoughts in words which can be readily understood by the average layman. Many a book which has been written with the best intentions and based on the broadest and fullest information has fallen into the ocean of books without a ripple. There is a power of imagination which is as necessary to an author in order to enable him to meet his readers on common ground, as is the range of knowledge which will warrant the writing of a book. Where either is lacking, we have a work predestined to failure. The scientist who has forgotten the language he once spoke—the language which his fellow-men still speak—cannot write to their edification, and his cumbrous attempt to unbend has removed him from the sphere where alone he is at home.

The volume now before us deals with the Book of Psalms. There is no attempt made to produce a commentary, and the writer has succeeded in excluding most of the technical expressions and crude material of the exegete. His motive has been rather to excite the interest of the reader, to whom the Psalms may have had small meaning, and to exhibit some of the various phases which they really present. Hence, for the exegete there is here little of importance, but for the ordinary reader things which may have been familiar enough in a disjointed way are brought together and made to throw light upon one another. The preacher, too, may find suggestions of method, which may be turned to good purpose.

The introductory chapter deals with the book as a whole, and gives some general information. It may be severely criticised in connection with its classification of the "parallelisms" of Hebrew poetry, for while the "constructive," the "responsive," and the "contrasted" parallelisms may suffice for the purposes of this book, they fail to set forth the great variety which is really to be found. The list of books appended for the use of students is quite behind the time with few exceptions. But as a whole the book ought to attain its object of being an introduction to the study of the Psalter.

The "voices" here considered are those of Praise, Prayer, Instruction, Creation, History, Immortality, of the Sanctuary, of Music, of the Shepherd, the Warrior and the Outlaw, of the Monarch,

the Penitent and the Pilgrim, of Messiah—the King; of Messiah—the Prophet and Priest; of Redemption, of the Church, the Mission Field, the Spiritual Life, and of Benediction.

C. R. GILLET.

NEW YORK.

**SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.** By HENRY B. SMITH, D.D., LL.D. Edited by William S. Karr, D.D., Professor of Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary. Fourth edition, revised. With an Introduction by Thomas S. Hastings, D.D., LL.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1890. 8vo, pp. xx., 641, \$2.

The earlier editions of this well-known work of one who has been called the ablest of American theologians have been so long before the Christian public that there is no need at this late day of offering a review of the system or of doing more than give a plain statement of the respects in which the present edition is different from its predecessors. The fact that Dr. Hastings, President of Union Theological Seminary, has prepared an introduction is noted on the title-page. Dr. Karr's original preface remains. The text of the volume has been retained unaltered, and the only revision attempted has been in connection with the notes. These alterations are not numerous, and have been made by the Rev. Henry Goodwin Smith, son of the author. Mrs. Smith's index to the subjects in the text stands as heretofore, but a valuable textual index to the citations of Scripture has been added by Mr. Smith. The only other changes to be noted are in the facts that the paper is thinner, though still excellent, and the margin is cut a little closer. By a special arrangement with the family of Dr. Smith, the cost has been reduced from the former figures to the very moderate price of two dollars. The volume is thus placed within the easy reach of all who wish to possess a work which is monumental in the history of American Theology.

CHARLES R. GILLET.

NEW YORK.

**CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.** By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Volume VII. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1890. 12mo, pp. xii., 410.

This series, here continued to the seventh volume, is already well and favorably known. Its purpose is to answer the question, "What has been done in the different fields of sacred learning during the past twelve months, and what are the latest results of such studies?" It is evident that within the compass of only a little over four hundred small pages it is not possible to review all of the books that have appeared. This is not a drawback, however, for it guarantees that we have presented to us only the best books. The authors do not pretend to display all of the contents of the books which they notice, but only the portions which seem to be new or especially valuable.

The present volume is intended to cover the most important works of 1889, but some from 1888 and 1890 are also included. In this way one can get a view of the whole field of theology as it is ordinarily divided into departments in Theological Encyclopædia. There is a drawback to the usefulness of this series of volumes in the fact that they appear at such long intervals. Even the quarterlies suffer from the infrequency of their appearance. But these 'Current Discussions' have an advantage

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over the review department of a quarterly or even a monthly in that all the works in a single department come under the view of a single professor, who is thus enabled to give a unity to the treatment and section which is impossible to the editor, with his corps of reviewers. It is important not only to know what the character of a single book is, but also what its bearing upon the literature of the whole subject may be.

It is to be hoped that the scope of the work may be widened as the authors propose, so as to include the departments of "Comparative Religion, the Relation of Religion and Science, Christian Art, Inter-Denominational History, and Christian Ethics." As at present arranged, we find treated the four main divisions of theological science, with such subdivisions as are required to include those books or magazine and review articles of importance which have appeared within the time covered by the "Discussions."

A fairly full index concludes the volume, making its contents available, while a very full table of contents gives a clear view of the arrangement of the material.

Within the limits of a notice such as this it is impossible to go into the minutiae of the volume, and one must be content to give merely a brief notion of its character. C. R. GILLET.

NEW YORK.

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## NOTES ON THE MAGAZINES.

THE literary magazines can, of course, give comparatively small space to religious literature, but few numbers fail to contain something that no one can afford to miss. The *Atlantic*, for example, in its January and February numbers has papers by Professor Josiah Royce on "Two Philosophers of the Paradoxical," viz., Hegel and Schopenhauer. In the February number, "The New England Meeting-House," by Alice Morse Earle, should also be read.—In the January *Forum* no one will overlook President Timothy Dwight's "Formative Influences," an autobiographical sketch, or W. S. Lilly's "The Shibboleth of Liberty."—The *North American Review* has an essay of more than usual interest on "Vital Statistics of the Jews," by Dr. John S. Billings.—Among the choice miscellany of *Littell's Living Age*, one notes especially two papers in the number for January 10th: "Constantinople Revisited," from the *Nineteenth Century*, and "The Druses of the Holy Land," from *Blackwood's Magazine*.—The *Contemporary Review* for January contains these valuable papers, besides that of Canon MacColl elsewhere reprinted: "The Early Life of Cardinal Newman," by Edwin A. Abbott, D.D.; "Morality by Act of Parliament," by R. Anderson, LL.D.; "Public Landed Endowments of the Church," by the Rev. H. W. Clarke, and "The Certainties of Christianity," by Professor J. Agar Beet.—In the *Nineteenth Century* the Duke of Argyll leads off with "Professor Huxley on the Warpath," and the only other article that can be called religious is "The Jew as a Workman," by David F. Schloss.

In glancing over the more distinctively religious periodicals, one is at a loss, not what to mention, but where to stop short of giving complete tables of contents. We mention, therefore, only the more important articles. The discussion by Professor G. T. Ladd of "The Biblical and the Philosophical Conception of God," begun in the January *Old Testament Student*, is a weighty one; and in the same number, "The Origin of the Hebrew Sabbath," by Rev. J. T. Nichols, and the biographical sketch of Professor Charles A. Briggs, D.D., by Rev. James M. Ludlow, D.D., should by no means be neglected.—In the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, while everything is good, Principal D. W. Simon's discussion of "The Doctrine of the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti*," and Professor Frank Hugh Foster's "The Benevolence Theory of the Atonement," are especially scholarly and strong.—Readers of the *Methodist Review* will probably turn at once to the "Symposium" on "The Temperance Movement," as the most timely of the January number's articles, but they would perhaps do better to stop and study with Professor George R. Crooks "The Gospel of John," or with Rev. John A. Roche, D.D., consider "The Holy Spirit as a Factor in Our Spiritual Life."—The January *Andover Review* contains two very good papers: "Dr. Martineau's Criticism of the Gospels," by Professor Hincks, and "The Question of Disestablishment in Scotland from the American Point of View," by A. Taylor Innes. Advocate.—A practical study is contributed to the *Lutheran Review* for January, by Professor L. A. Gotwald, on "Unutilized Forces in Our Churches," and in a similar vein Professor W. H. Wynn writes on "Creed of Deeds; or, Didactics of Spiritual Truth." A discussion of "The Historic Episcopate" in the Lutheran Church, by Rev. Frank Manhart, is of special interest just now.—The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* presents a solid feast in its January number, and the difficulty is to particularize. We must, in fact, name all the main articles, which are as follows: "Recent Dogmatic Thought in Austria-Hungary," by Edouard Bohl; "The Theological School, a Practical Institution," by David D. Demarest; "The Logos of Philo and St. John," by Paton J. Gloag; "The Sumerian Question," by J. F. McCurdy; "Laurentius Valla," by Philip Schaff; "Christianity and its Counterfeits," by William Alexander; "The Chronology of the Divided Kingdom," by John D. Davis.